

INAUGURAL 1861

DRAWER 10

INAUGURAL - 1861

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A very faint, large watermark-like image of a classical building with four prominent columns and a triangular pediment occupies the background of the page.

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# Abraham Lincoln's 1861 Inauguration

## 1861 Inaugural

Excerpts from newspapers and other sources

From the files of the  
Lincoln Financial Foundation Collection

The Washington correspondent of the Journal telegraphs as follows:

The President signed the Tariff bill this morning. Mr. Lincoln will ride in a carriage drawn by two horses, in the Inauguration procession, and will be accompanied by Mr. Buchanan. The Presidential carriage will be preceded by a car bearing the American flag, and containing thirty-four girls, representing the thirty-four States.

The National Intelligencer of this morning urges the Lincoln Administration not to adopt coercion as a cure for the evils of disunion, declaring that it will encounter so much opposition in the bosom of the Republican party, as to render it inefficient. This is understood to be the opinion of Mr. Corwin and other conservatives.

President Lincoln submitted the draft of his inaugural last night to those who have accepted invitations to become members of his Cabinet. It is said to be concise, making less than two columns in the National Intelligencer and reviews the state of the country in general terms.

It positively asserts the determination of the new Administration to execute the laws in such language as shows that the forts will not be surrendered, and that duties will be collected.

Mr. Cameron's friends urged him not to accept the appointment of Secretary of War, which is the position finally assigned to him, declaring that Pennsylvania has labored hard for the present tariff and that it should not first be administered by a Democratic representative of New York interests. Notwithstanding these complaints, Mr. Chase will be Secretary of the Treasury, and Montgomery Blair probably Postmaster General.

3/1/61

BOSTON ADV

## THE INCOMING ADMINISTRATION.

### THE CABINET OF MR. LINCOLN COMPLETED.

WASHINGTON, March 2, 1861.

The Cabinet contest has at last come to an end, to the great relief of all concerned. This morning Mr. Cameron got over his squeamishness, and signified his readiness to serve, when it at once became settled that Seward, Bates, Smith, Chase, Cameron, Blair and Welles would constitute the personnel of the Cabinet. A definite assignment of departments to the last two was postponed, owing to the absence of Mr. Welles. His arrival this evening, by special train from Baltimore, in company with George Bliss, Jr., of New York; E. S. Cleveland, of Connecticut; and G. M. R. Paulsen, of New Jersey, and the irrepressible W. S. Wood, enabled the President elect to close up matters.

The Cabinet now stands, definitely and positively, as follows.—

Secretary of State..... Wm. H. Seward, of New York.  
Secretary of the Treasury..... Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio.  
Secretary of the Interior..... Caleb B. Smith, of Indiana.  
Secretary of War..... Simon Cameron, of Pa.  
Secretary of the Navy..... Montgomery Blair, of Md.  
Postmaster General..... Gideon Welles, of Conn.  
Attorney General..... Edward Bates, of Missouri.

Thus the Cabinet squabble, unparalleled in intensity in the annals of the country, is terminated. The leaders of all factions and parties that directly and indirectly engaged in the struggle are all taking a deep breath.

Few, however, believe that the completion of the Cabinet will be the last of the troubles in connection with it. The almost universal impression is that its efficiency will be paralyzed by an internal contention, expected to break out as soon as executive acts, bearing upon the secession question, will be required, and the distribution of the spoils among the factions represented by the members commenced.

The composition of the Cabinet virtually leaves the South without representation. Mr. Blair's well-known radicalism and coercive propensities will render him more obnoxious to the border States than a Northerner. The fight between Blair and Winter Davis was very close and hotly contested, but a coup de main was achieved to-day in favor of Blair by the arrival of a delegation of about forty Marylanders, including all the Republican electors of the State. The delegation waited on Mr. Lincoln, and a formal and formal declaration was made that Blair, and not Davis, was the true representative republican of the State. The representations made to Mr. Lincoln about Davis, through the chairman of the delegation, Mr. Corkran, were to the effect that if Mr. Davis should be selected as a Cabinet councillor, it would revive the spirit of "plug ugliness" in Baltimore, and destroy forever the republican movement in the State. Mr. Lincoln on this stampeded his foot and declared that his mind was now made up, and that he would not be further influenced by the people who were endeavoring to force Davis into his Cabinet. But Winter Davis has a strong position in Mr. Lincoln's regard, nevertheless, and will doubtless be offered some honorable place.

The conservative element was fully aroused, and made a last desperate effort to-day against the appointment of Gov. Chase to a place in Mr. Lincoln's Cabinet, but without success. The border State men, South and North made a powerful appeal to President Lincoln not to appoint him. Chase's views, they say, upon the subject of slavery, are as radical as Seward's, and the Southern States will regard his appointment as a declaration of war. Several conservative Virginians called upon President Lincoln to day and appealed to him not to appoint Chase. Already, they informed him, the border slave States were undecided as to what course they would pursue. If they could be assured that his Cabinet would be conservative, it would aid them in making a stand against the secessionists; but if not, then the border slave States would be united, and would join the cotton States in less than sixty days. President Lincoln appeared fully impressed with the importance of the suggestions, but gave them no intimation as to the course he intended to pursue.

The New York free traders, headed by George Opdyke, are in high glee over the success of Chase, for whom they labored so faithfully all winter. They consider themselves fully consoled for the passage of the Tariff bill. A clash of the free trade and protective interests in the Cabinet is sure to come in due season.

I have it from good authority that both Gilmer and Etheridge could have gone into the Cabinet had they not required positive assurances as to the policy of the administration in reference to Southern matters. These they demanded, in order not to run the risk of an early resignation, but could not obtain them.

During the entire contest for the Cabinet, Mr. Lincoln showed much more coolness and discretion than those that endeavored to influence his action, yet the result shows that their demonstrations were, after all, not without effect.

Col. Ward Hill Lamon, of Illinois, has been offered the position of Private Secretary to the President elect, and is urged to accept it by nearly all of Mr. Lincoln's friends. His eminent qualification for that important position, and his warm attachment to Mr. Lincoln, render his acceptance especially desirable to them. Should he decline, he will undoubtedly be made Secretary to a first class foreign mission.

WASHINGTON, March 2, 1861.

Mr. Lincoln is a Gibraltar, and the terrific waves of popular fury cannot move him. The Cabinet originally published in the HERALD, and repeated yesterday and to-day, is the Cabinet of Abraham Lincoln. Every effort has been made by opposing interests to throw Blair and Chase and Cameron out, but to-day has settled the matter. Those gentlemen have accepted the places assigned to them.

The Interior Department was offered to Mr. Cameron, but he declined it. The War Department was then offered him, which, after consultation with his friends, he decided to accept. Mr. Cameron has been severely and unjustly pursued, and Mr. Lincoln is highly complimented for resisting all opposition and retaining Mr. Cameron in his Cabinet.

Mr. Chase was also hotly pursued, but Mr. Lincoln has resisted his opponents, and made a Cabinet for himself.

This evening Mr. Lincoln dined with the Bremen Minister. Between nine and ten in the evening Mrs. Lincoln received a few of her friends, but the crowd was so great that it was impossible to open the Presidential reception rooms to all who paid their respects.

### MR. LINCOLN'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

The inaugural will receive the finishing touches this evening and to-morrow morning, and will be in type early on Monday morning. It will be brief, but to the point, and not quite three and a half columns of the HERALD.

Its general tone will be conciliatory, but, as announced three days since, the right and duty of the government to enforce the federal laws will be asserted, and nothing in the way of concessions vouchsafed beyond an endorsement of the proposed call of a national convention.

The attitude of Mr. Seward in the Senate, in reference to Mr. Corwin's amendment, was assumed in accordance with this.

The spectacle of anti-slavery political leaders, and rival aspirants to the Presidency endeavoring, during the last few days, to impress the republican President with their views on the South in question, was strange enough, but it is certain that their suggestions will not be engrafted upon the inaugural.

The town is filled with rumors about the character of the inaugural. Old Abe is getting his courage up, and begins to show some of the Jacksonian grit which has been ascribed to him, and his inaugural will indicate a policy, firm and yet conciliatory, that may command the attention of the entire country, and, if not altogether too late, interpose an obstacle to the further spread of the secession movement. Virginia is now the prize. Will he seize it?

WASHINGTON, March 2, 1861.

Mr. Lincoln has concluded his message, and will express himself in most positive language. He believes it to be the duty of the authorities to protect and hold the forts, navy yards and arsenals, belonging to the United States, and will so express himself in his message.

### THE NEW YORK APPOINTMENTS.

WASHINGTON, March 2, 1861.

While the contest rages over the Cabinet offices, the Lieutenant's are busy in securing their plunder. George Opdyke has the New York Collectorship if he wishes it. If not, Hiram Barney will be the successful man. The candidates are numerous and hopeful, but the above are the only names it is prominent.

### THE OHIO UNITED STATES SENATORSHIP.

WASHINGTON, March 2, 1861.

The Ohio politicians are already busying themselves

with the successor to Governor Chase's place in the Senate. Governor Dennison, and John Sherman, and D. K. Cartor, all of whom are now here, are the leading aspirants. Dennison is said to have the best opening.

### THE COERCIVE POLICY OF THE NEW ADMINISTRATION.

WASHINGTON, March 2, 1861.

There appears to be little faith, in Presidential circles, that the Southern difficulties can be satisfactorily adjusted. The probability of keeping the border slave States within the Union is thought to be slight, in the face of the impossibility of acceding to their demands.

I reiterate my assertion, that the general conviction of Mr. Lincoln's habitual illusory advisers is, that attempts to reinforce Fort Sumter will be made, and orders to have the revenues collected by the Gulf Squadron issued, early after the inauguration.

### PROGRAMME OF THE INAUGURATION.

#### THE INAUGURATION OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN AS SIXTEENTH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 28, 1861.

The following is the programme of proceedings on Monday, the 4th March next, for the inauguration of President Lincoln, as arranged under the supervision of the Chief Marshal, Colonel B. B. French —

##### THE ORDER OF PROCESSION.

AIDS. MARSHAL IN-CHIEF. AIDS.  
The Military escort, the Commander of V. Inf. will issue his orders of detail, informing the officers of the guard and visiting corps at what place and hour he will form his line, and to whom they must report.

##### A NATIONAL FLAG, with appropriate emblems.

The President of the United States, with the President elect and suite, with marshals on their left and the Marshal of the United States for the District of Columbia (Colonel William Selden) and his deputies on their right.

##### The Committee of Arrangements of the Senate.

##### I. PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

##### THE REPUBLICAN ASSOCIATION.

##### THE JUDICIARY.

##### THE CLERGY.

##### FOREIGN MINISTERS.

##### THE CORPS DIPLOMATIQUE.

MEMBERS ELECT, MEMBERS AND EX MEMBERS OF CONGRESS, AND EX MEMBERS OF THE CABINET.

##### THE PEACE CONGRESS.

##### HEADS OF BUREAUS.

GOVERNORS AND EX GOVERNORS OF STATES AND TERRITORIES, AND MEMBERS OF THE LEGISLATURES OF THE SAME.

##### OFFICERS OF THE ARMY, NAVY, MARINE CORPS AND MILITIA, IN FULL UNIFORM.

OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS OF THE REVOLUTION OF THE WAR OF 1812 AND OF SUBSEQUENT PERIODS.

THE CORPORATE AUTHORITIES OF WASHINGTON AND GEORGETOWN, OTHER POLITICAL AND MILITARY ASSOCIATIONS FROM THE DISTRICT AND OTHER PARTS OF THE UNITED STATES.

##### ALL ORGANIZED CIVIL SOCIETIES.

PROFESSORS, SCHOLMASTERS AND STUDENTS WITHIN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA; CITIZENS OF THE DISTRICT AND OF STATES AND TERRITORIES.

The various organized bodies of citizens, civil and military, who intend to participate in the ceremonies of the inauguration, will, at their earliest convenience, report to the marshal in chief, in what force, and of what description of force they will be composed, and when they will arrive here, that the marshal in chief may assign them proper positions where they can form, preparatory to taking position in the column of march.

The procession will be formed in front of the City Hall, and in the streets adjacent thereto, at nine o'clock, A. M., on the 4th of March next.

At eleven o'clock A. M. the procession will move from the parade ground, by Louisiana Avenue to Pennsylvania Avenue, thence along Pennsylvania Avenue, and so far past Willard's Hotel (where the President elect will be) up Fifteenth street, as will enable it to counter-march and halt on Pennsylvania Avenue in front of the Hotel. The entire column will, under orders, left face, and the military will present arms. The President and President-elect will then be received into the line, and the column will, under orders, right face and move, escorting them to the Capitol.

Banners and adornments may be borne in the procession, but no offensive emblems or devices will be permitted to distract the national ceremony.

After the President elect reaches the Capitol, the various portions of the procession will witness the inauguration according to the pleasure, taking care to respect the programme, which has already been published by the Committee of the Senate.

The military, the marshals, assistant marshals, and aids, will co-operate in the execution of the arrangements on the Senate.

As soon as the inauguration ceremonies are concluded, the military, with the marshals, assistant marshals, and aids, will, as the final ceremony, escort the President and his attendants to the Executive Mansion.

The Marshal in Chief has appointed the following named gentlemen as marshals, assistant marshals, and aids, to assist him in carrying out the arrangements of the day.—

MARSHALS.  
1. J. Conning,  
George H. Plant,  
James W. Beane,  
W. Krzyzewski,  
John L. Hayes,  
William Simpson,  
Lewis Cephane,  
Albert G. Ball,  
A. S. McKinley,  
Foster Hastings,  
Col. John S. Keyes.

ASSISTANT MARSHALS, REPRESENTING STATES AND TERRITORIES.  
Lucius L. Goodrich, Conn.  
Richard Clevenger, Ga.  
J. Grinnell, Delaware.  
John Wilson, Illinois.  
W. G. Upton, Indiana.  
Henry S. Jennings, Iowa.  
Henry J. Adams, Kansas.  
Alex. Smith, Kentucky.  
Samuel P. Brown, Maine.  
George N. Doane, Maryland.  
Major C. O. Rogers, Mass.  
Col. Chas. Pickney, Mich.  
W. S. King, Minnesota.  
Thos. J. Benton, Missouri.  
Gen. J. C. Abbott, N. H.

ASSISTANT MARSHALS.  
Martin Buell,  
Woodford Stone.  
John Hines.  
Job W. Angus.  
J. F. Hodgeson.  
James Lynch.  
George W. Wilson.  
Henry M. Knight.  
G. A. Bassett.  
A. C. Richards.  
Edmund Flagg.  
J. L. Henshaw.  
J. M. Lucas.  
A. W. Fletcher.  
Fran<sup>s</sup>ois O. French.  
James Kelley.  
J. F. Brandt.  
Phineas B. Tompkins.  
David P. Brown.  
W. W. Bassett.  
Charles C. Casey.  
James Naked.  
Nathaniel C. Towle.  
Charles S. English.  
F. A. Soule.  
Hammond C. Addison.  
Hugh G. Divine.  
Samuel Strong.  
Joshua Howard.  
R. C. Stevens.  
W. C. Dodge.  
F. J. Seybold.  
John P. Elmsfield.  
Edwin P. Bridges.  
A. J. Larner.  
Theodore Wheeler.  
P. Crowley.

ADS TO THE MARSHAL-IN-CHIEF.  
William Rabe.  
John W. Jones.  
Ira Goodenow.  
Nathan Darling.  
G. Alfred Hall.

John P. Hilton.

The Marshal in Chief and his aids will be designated by orange colored scarfs with white rosettes, and blue saddle cloths with gilt trimmings.

The Marshals will be designated by blue scarfs and white rosettes, and white saddle cloths, trimmed with blue. They will carry a baton two feet long, of blue color, with ends gilt about two inches deep.

The Assistant Marshals representing States and Territories will be designated by pink scarfs with white rosettes, and white saddle covers trimmed with pink. They will carry white batons two feet long, with pink ends two inches deep.

The Assistant Marshals will wear white scarfs with pink rosettes, white saddle covers trimmed with pink. They will carry batons of pink color, two feet long, with white ends two inches deep.

The Marshals, Assistant Marshals and aids will meet at the City Hall on the morning of the 4th of March, precisely at nine o'clock, fully equipped, where they will have appropriate duties assigned them.

The Marshal in Chief particularly desires that the Marshals, Assistant Marshals and aids will wear common black hats, black frock coats, black pantaloons; over boots, and white or light yellow buckskin gauntlet gloves.

B. B. FRENCH, Marshal in Chief.

WASHINGTON Feb. 23, 1861.

The military will be out in full force, agreeably to the following order from General Weightman —

HEADQUARTERS DISTRICT CAPITAL MILITIA,  
WASHINGTON, Feb. 28, 1861.

CIVILIAN ORDER NO. 13

The uniformed militia of the District will parade on the 4th prox and take part in the ceremonies of the inauguration of the President elect.

The foot corps will be under the command of Brigadier General Bacon, who will cause the line to be formed on Louisiana avenue, right resting on Sixth street, at ten o'clock precisely.

The commanders of the Georgetown Mounted Guard and the President's Mounted Guard will report to the Inspector General, at his quarters, at nine o'clock A. M., and receive special instructions.

All the uniformed officers whose corps do not join the procession are invited to assemble at half past nine o'clock A. M., to take part in the ceremony, according to the direction of the Marshal in Chief. By order of Major General Weightman, A. THOS. BRADLEY, Major A. D. C., & Major B. B. French, Marshal in Chief, &c.

#### THE GRAND INAUGURATION BALL.

WASHINGTON, March 2, 1861.

The inauguration ball room was lighted to-night at eight o'clock for the first time. It was witnessed by a large number of citizens and strangers, comprising a number of the most prominent sojourners now in the metropolis. All exerted themselves highly gratified with the excellent taste displayed in the decorations and the completeness of its interior arrangements. A plat

form, beautifully carpeted, extends around the entire room, with comfortable seats for ladies and lookers on. The room is magnificently lighted with five elegant chandeliers, of one hundred burners each, valued at \$6,000. The sides are lighted by large bracket chandeliers, giving a beautiful effect. The supper is also admirably arranged, the whole side next to the ball room being removed in a single minute at a given signal. Great precautions have also been taken in case of accident, doors being arranged in the sides so that if necessary the whole crowd can instantly find egress. The celebrated caterer, Gauthier, furnishes the supper. His bill will be over four thousand dollars for this item alone. The wines and liquors will be of the choicest kind, as will be everything connected with the ball.

The entrance is through the centre of the City Hall, a covered way extending to the curb.

The Reception Committee comprise some of our most eminent citizens.

It promises to be the most magnificent ball ever given here in all its arrangements. The cost will be nearly seventeen thousand dollars.

Foot Soldiers

M 977

## ARRANGEMENTS

FOR THE

### INAUGURATION OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

ON THE

**FOURTH OF MARCH, 1861.**

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The doors of the Senate Chamber will be opened at 11 o'clock a. m. for the admission of Senators, and others who, by the arrangement of the Committee, are entitled to admission, as follows:

Ex-Presidents and Vice Presidents.

The Chief Justice and Associate Judges of the Supreme Court.

The Diplomatic Corps, Heads of Departments, and Ex-Members of either branch of Congress, and Members of Congress elect.

Officers of the Army and Navy who, by name, have received the thanks of Congress.

Governors of States and Territories of the Union, and Ex-Governors of States. Assistant Secretaries of Departments, and the Assistant Postmaster General; the Comptrollers, Auditors, Register, and Solicitor of the Treasury, Treasurer, Commissioners, Judges, and

The Mayors of Washington and Georgetown, and the reporters in the Senate.

All of whom will be admitted at the north door of the Capitol.

The families of the Diplomatic Corps will enter at the north door of the Capitol, and be conducted to the diplomatic gallery.

Seats will be placed in front of the Secretary's table for the PRESIDENT of the United States and the PRESIDENT elect; and, on their left, for the Committee of Arrangements.

The Chief Justice and Associate Justices of the Supreme Court will have seats on the right of the Chair.

The Diplomatic Corps will occupy seats on the right of the Chair, next to the Supreme Court. Heads of Departments on the left of the Chair.

Officers of the Army and Navy who, by name, have received the

thanks of Congress; Governors of States and Territories of the Union, Ex-Governors of States, Assistant Secretaries of Departments, and the Assistant Postmaster General, Comptrollers, Auditors, Register, and Solicitor of the Treasury, Treasurer, Commissioners, Judges, and the Mayors of Washington and Georgetown, will occupy seats on the right and left of the main entrance.

Members of Congress, and Members elect, will enter the Senate Chamber by the main entrance, and will occupy seats on the left of the Chair.

The galleries will be reserved for the ladies, who will enter the Capitol from the terrace, by the principal western door of the central building, and be conducted to the gallery of the Senate.

The Rotunda, shall be closed, and the passages leading thereto kept clear.

The other doors and entrances to the Capitol, except those to be open under this arrangement, will be kept closed.

At 11 o'clock the PRESIDENT and the PRESIDENT elect, accompanied by two members of the Committee of Arrangements, will proceed in a carriage to the north door of the north wing of the Capitol, and entering there will proceed to the PRESIDENT's room.

The VICE PRESIDENT elect will be accompanied to the Capitol by a member of the Committee of Arrangements, and conducted into the VICE PRESIDENT's room, and afterwards into the Senate Chamber, where the oath of office will be administered to him by the VICE PRESIDENT.

The Diplomatic Corps and the Justices of the Supreme Court will enter the Senate Chamber a few minutes before the PRESIDENT ELECT.

The Senate will assemble at 12 o'clock.

The Senate being ready to receive them, the PRESIDENT and the PRESIDENT elect will be introduced by the Committee of Arrangements to the seats prepared for them in the Senate Chamber.

After a short pause, those assembled in the Senate Chamber will proceed to the platform on the central portico of the Capitol in the following order:

The Marshal of the District of Columbia.

The Supreme Court of the United States.

The Sergeant-at-Arms of the Senate.

The Committee of Arrangements.

The PRESIDENT of the United States and the PRESIDENT elect.

The VICE PRESIDENT and the Secretary of the Senate.

The Members of the Senate.

The Diplomatic Corps.

Heads of Departments, Governors of States and Territories, the Mayors of Washington and Georgetown, and other persons who have been admitted into the Senate Chamber.

On reaching the front of the portico, the PRESIDENT elect. will take the seat provided for him on the front of the platform.

The PRESIDENT and the Committee of Arrangements will occupy a position in the rear of the PRESIDENT elect.

Next in the rear of these the Chief Justice and the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court will occupy the seats on the left, and the VICE PRESIDENT, Secretary and Members of the Senate, those on the right.

The Diplomatic Corps will occupy the seats next in the rear of the Supreme Court. Heads of Departments, Governors, and Ex-Governors of States and Territories, and Ex-Members of the Senate, Ex-Members, and Members elect of the House of Representatives in the rear of the Members of the Senate.

Such other persons as are included in the preceding arrangements will occupy the steps, and the residue of the portico.

All being in readiness, the oath of office will be administered to the PRESIDENT elect by the Chief Justice; and on the conclusion of the PRESIDENT's address, the Members of the Senate, preceded by the VICE PRESIDENT, Secretary, and Sergeant-at-Arms, will return to the Senate Chamber, and the PRESIDENT, accompanied by the Committee of Arrangements, will proceed to the PRESIDENT's House.

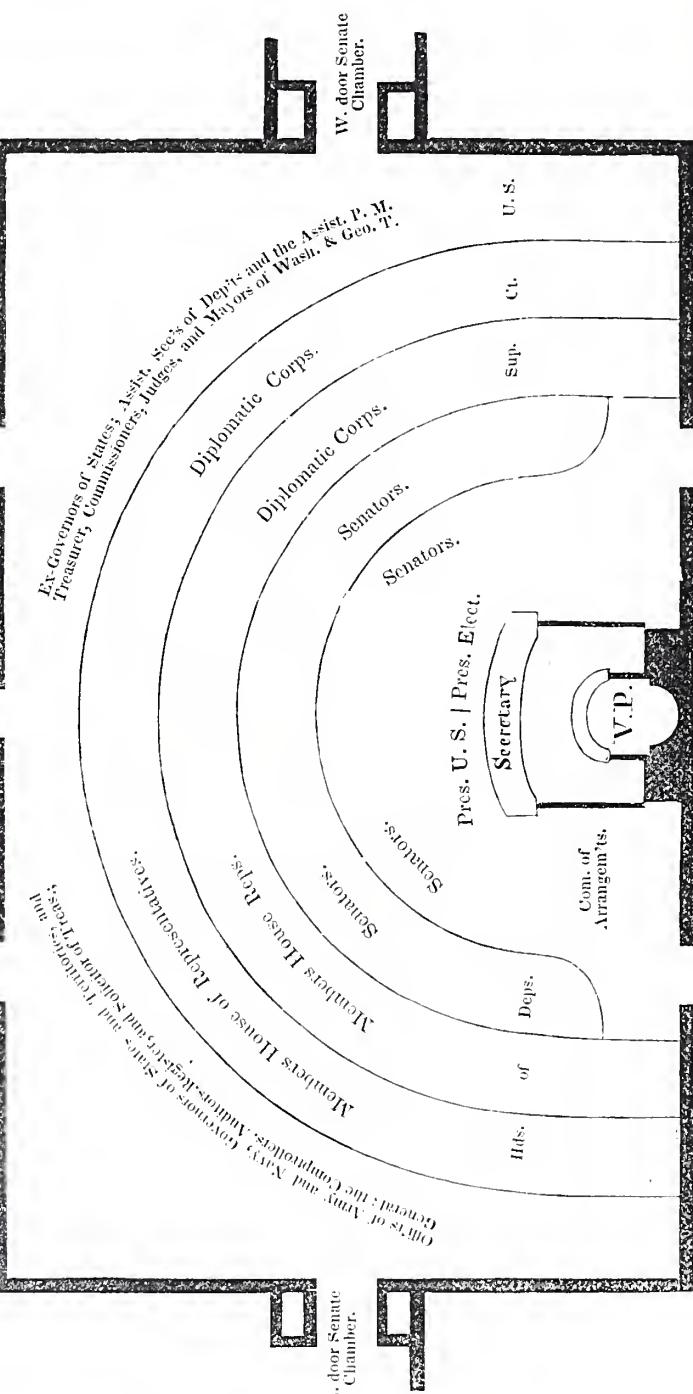
The Sergeant-at-Arms of the Senate, with the Marshal of the District, are charged with the execution of these arrangements; and aided by the police of the Capitol, will preserve order.

All horses and carriages will be excluded from the Capitol square.

Should the weather prove unfavorable, the ceremony of the Inauguration will take place in the Senate Chamber.

SOLOMON FOOT,  
JAMES A. PEARCE,  
EDWARD D. BAKER,  
*Committee of Arrangements.*

Main Entrance.



TELEGRAPHIC GREETINGS TO THE PRESIDENT FROM CALIFORNIA.

B. Transcribed — Oct 28, 1861

Since Friday, when the Pacific and Atlantic Telegraph was opened, the President has received a number of despatches over the line. These embrace the announcement from the President of the Telegraph Company that the line is completed, and expressing a hope that it may be a bond of perpetuity between the States of the Atlantic and those of the Pacific.

Gov. Downey of California expresses in the name of the people of that State their congratulations at the completion of the noble enterprise that places them in immediate communication with the Capital and with their fellow citizens of the East, and expressing the hope that the golden links of the Constitution may ever unite us a happy and free people.

The President and Secretary of the Pioneers, the oldest organization on the Pacific coast, send greetings to the President of the United States, as a society loyal and as a State loyal. They pray God to save one and indivisible our glorious Union.

Leland Stanford sends the following: "Today California is but a second's distance from the national capital. Her patriotism with the electric current throbs responsive with that of her sister States, and holds civil liberty and union above all price.

The Grand Division of the Sons of Temperance sends the following:

"To the President of the United States, greeting: Liberty, Union and Temperance, one and inseparable forever. By order. (Signed)

JOHN WADE, P. G. W. P."

The Mayor of Stockton transmits the following: "Stockton sends greeting to your Excellency, with the assurance that she is true to the Constitution and the laws, and for the thorough crushing out of rebellion."

Governor Nye, in behalf of the Territory of Nevada, says: "Mountain bound Nevada avails herself of the earliest opportunity to send upon the wings of lightning to her National home assurances of her filial attachment to the Union as formed by our fathers, and her earnest sympathy with those who are striving to maintain it."

The following is dated Capitol, Carson City, Nevada Territory, through her first Legislative Assembly: "To the President and people of the United States, greeting: Nevada for the Union, ever true and loyal. The last born of the nation will be the last to desert the flag. Our aid to the extent of our ability can be relied upon to crush the rebellion." (Signed) J. L. VAN BAELEN, President.

A SONG SAVED THE CITY.

How They Sang the "Star-Spangled Banner" When Lincoln Was Inaugurated.

Thomas Nast in *Denyer News*: I was in Washington a few days prior to the inauguration of Lincoln in 1861, having been sent by the Harpers to take sketches when that event should come off. I did nothing but walk around the city and feel the public pulse, so to speak. There was no necessity of saying anything to anybody. You intuitively recognized that trouble was brewing. Southerners had sworn that Lincoln should not be inaugurated. Their utterances had fired the Northern heart, and the people loyal to the old flag were just as determined that the lawfully-elected President should be inaugurated, though blood should flow in the attempt. It was an awful time. People looked different then than they do now. Little knots of men could be seen conversing together in whispers on street corners, and even the whispers ceased when a person unknown to them approached. Everybody seemed to suspect every one else. Every woman looked askance at each other, and children obliged to be out would skurry home as if frightened, probably having been given warning by their parents. The streets at night, for several nights prior to the inaugural ceremonies, were practically deserted. There was a hush over everything. It seemed to me that the shadow of death was hovering near. I had constantly floating before my eyes sable plumes and trappings of woe. I could hear dirges constantly, and thought for awhile that I would have to leave the place or go crazy. I knew all these sombre thoughts were but imagination, but I also knew that the something which had influenced my imagination was tangible, really existed. The 4th of March came and Mr. Lincoln was inaugurated quietly and without ostentation. After the services were over and it became known that Mr. Lincoln had really been inducted into office there was a savage snarl went up from the Southerners. The snarl was infectious. It was answered by just as savage growls all over the city. But nothing was said. A single yell of defiance, a pistol-shot, or even an oath would have precipitated a conflict. Men simply glared at each other and gnashed their teeth, but were careful not to grit them so it could be heard. I went to my room in the Willard and sat down to do some work. I couldn't work. The stillness was oppressive. At least a dozen times I picked up my pencils only to throw them down again. I got up and paced the floor nervously. I heard men on either side of me doing the same thing. Walking didn't relieve the severe mental strain. I sat down in my chair and pressed my head in my hands. Suddenly I heard a window go up and some one step out on the balcony of the Ebbitt House, directly opposite. Everybody in the hotels had heard him. What is he going to do? I asked myself, and I suppose every one else pounded the same mental interrogation. We hadn't to wait long. He began to sing the "Star Spangled Banner" in a clear, strong voice. The effect was magical, electrical. One window went up, and another, and then another, and heads popped out all over the neighborhood. People began to stir on the streets. A crowd soon gathered. The grand old song was taken up and sung by thousands. The spell was broken, and when the song was finished tongues were loosened, and cheer after cheer went up. The man rooming next to me rapped on my door and insisted that I should take a drink with him. As we passed along the corridors we were joined by others, men wild with joy, some of them weeping and throwing their arms around each other's neck. Others were singing, and all were happy.

Washington was itself again. The "Star-Spangled Banner" had saved it.

11-2-1887

At noon, Mr. Lincoln's work was interrupted. The President of the United States was announced. Mr. Buchanan had come to escort his successor to the Capitol. The route of the procession was the historic one over which almost every President since Jefferson had traveled to take his oath of office; but the scene Mr. Lincoln looked upon as his carriage rolled up the avenue was very different from that upon which one looks to-day. No great blocks lined the streets; instead, the buildings were low, and there were numerous vacant spaces. Instead of asphalt, the carriage passed over cobblestones. Nor did the present stately and beautiful approach to the Capitol exist. The west front rose abrupt and stiff from an unkept lawn. The great building itself was still uncompleted, and high above his head Mr. Lincoln could see the swinging arm of an enormous crane rising from the unfinished dome.

But, as he drove that morning from Willard's to the Capitol, the President-elect saw far more significant sights than these. Closed about his carriage, "so thickly," complained the newspapers, "as to hide it from view," was a protecting guard. Stationed at intervals along the avenue were platoons of soldiers. At every corner were mounted orderlies. On the very roof-tops were groups of riflemen. When Lincoln reached the north side of the Capitol, where he descended to enter the building, he found a board tunnel, strongly guarded at its mouth, through which he passed into the building. . . .

Arm in arm with Mr. Buchanan, Mr. Lincoln passed through the long tunnel erected for his protection, entered the Capitol, and passed into the Senate Chamber, filled to overflowing with Senators, members of the Diplomatic Corps and visitors. The contrast between the two men as they entered struck every observer. "Mr. Buchanan was so withered and bowed with age," wrote George W. Julian of Indiana, who was among the spectators, "that in contrast with the towering form of Mr. Lincoln he seemed little more than half a man."

A few moments' delay, and the movement from the Senate towards the east front began, the justices of the Supreme Court, in cap and gown, leading the procession. As soon as the large company was seated on the platform erected on the east portico of the Capitol, Mr. Lincoln arose and advanced to the front, where he

was introduced by his friend, Senator Baker of Oregon. He carried a cane and a little roll—the manuscript of his Inaugural Address.

There was a moment's pause after the introduction, as he vainly looked for a spot where he might place his high silk hat. Stephen A. Douglas, the political antagonist of his whole public life, the man who had pressed him hardest in the campaign of 1860, was seated just behind him. Douglas stepped forward quickly, and took the hat which Mr. Lincoln held helplessly in his hand.

"If I can't be President," he whispered smilingly to Mrs. Brown, a cousin of Mrs. Lincoln and a member of the President's party, "I at least can hold his hat."

*The Life of Abraham Lincoln*, Ida M. Tarbell, Vol. II, page 1.

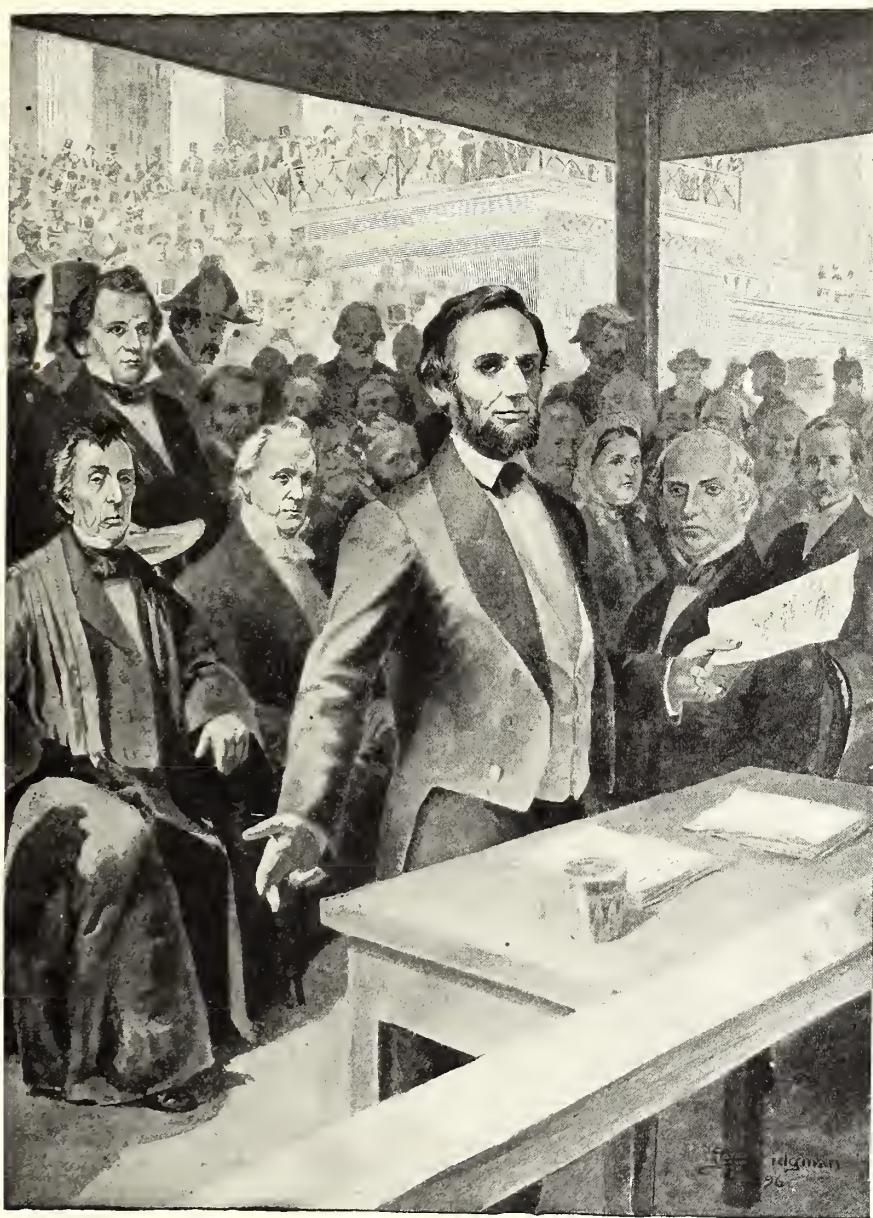
### The Inaugural Address

The Inaugural had but one general theme. Some points of it are detachable as indicating the purposes and policy which the new President had in mind at the beginning; while as a whole it is one of his most impressive papers. He said:

"Apprehension seems to exist among the people of the Southern States, that by the accession of a Republican administration their property and their peace and personal security are endangered. There has never been any reasonable cause for such apprehension. Indeed, the most ample evidence to the contrary has all the while existed and been open to inspection. It is found in nearly all the published speeches of him who now addresses you. I do but quote from one of those speeches when I declare that 'I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists.' I believe I have no lawful right to do so; and I have no inclination to do so."

He cited also a resolution of the convention which nominated him, as "clear and emphatic" on this matter, and continued:

"I now reiterate these sentiments; and in doing so I only press upon the public attention the most conclusive evidence of which the case is susceptible, that the property, peace and security of no section are to be in any wise endangered by the incoming administration. I add, too, that all the protection which, consistently with the Constitution and the laws, can be given, will be cheerfully



From *The True Story of Abraham Lincoln*, Elbridge S. Brooks.

**ABRAHAM LINCOLN DELIVERING HIS INAUGURAL ADDRESS, MARCH 4, 1861**

Seated behind Lincoln, from left to right: Chief-Justice Taney, President Buchanan, Mrs. Lincoln, and Senator Baker. Senator Douglas is standing behind Mr. Justice Taney, holding Lincoln's hat.

given to all States when lawfully demanded, for whatever cause, as cheerfully to one section as to another. . . .

"I take the official oath to-day with no mental reservations, and with no purpose to construe the Constitution or laws by any hypercritical rules."

He then took up the matter of Disunion, arguing in the most forcible manner against the right of a State to secede. . . .

Argument, persuasion, entreaty followed:

"Physically speaking, we can not separate; we can not remove our respective sections from each other, nor build an impassable wall between them. A husband and wife may be divorced, and go out of the presence and beyond the reach of each other, but the different parts of our country can not do this. They can not but remain face to face; and intercourse, either amicable or hostile, must continue between them. Is it possible, then, to make that intercourse more advantageous or more satisfactory after separation than before? Can aliens make treaties easier than friends can make laws? Can treaties be more faithfully enforced between aliens than laws can among friends? Suppose you go to war, you cannot fight always; and when, after much loss on both sides, and no gain on either, you cease fighting, the identical question as to terms of intercourse are again upon you. . . .

"If it were admitted that you who are dissatisfied hold the right side in the dispute, there is still no single reason for precipitate action. Intelligence, patriotism, Christianity, and a firm reliance in Him who has never yet forsaken this favored land, are still competent to adjust, in the best way, all our present difficulties.

"In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The Government will not assail you. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. You have no oath registered in Heaven to destroy the Government; while I shall have the most solemn one to 'preserve, protect and defend' it.

"I am loath to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living

heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature."

After bowing response to the applause of his auditors, he turned to Chief-Justice Taney, at his side, and repeated from his lips the required official oath. Then followed a salute from the cannons of the battery near at hand while the procession re-formed and began its return march to the White House.

*Abraham Lincoln and His Presidency*, Joseph H. Barrett, LL.D., Vol. I, page 279.

#### Horace Greeley on the Inaugural Address

The strong point of the Inaugural is its frank and plump denial of the fundamental Secession dogma that our Union is a league, formed in 1787.

"The Union is much older than the Constitution," says Mr. Lincoln truly and pertinently. Had the Constitution been rejected by the States, the Union would nevertheless have subsisted. Ours is "one country"—made so by God and His Providence, revealed through the whole of its history; its "more perfect Union" is but a step in its development—not the cause of its existence. Hence, Secession is not "the dissolution of a league," as Mr. Jefferson Davis asserts, but a treasonable, though futile, effort to disorganize and destroy a nation.

Mr. Lincoln's rejection of Disunion as physically impossible—as forbidden by the geography and topography of our country—is a statesmanlike conception that had not before been so clearly apprehended or so forcibly set forth. . . .

Mr. Lincoln fondly regarded his Inaugural as a resistless proffering of the olive-branch to the South; the conspirators everywhere interpreted it as a challenge to war. And when the former had taken the oath, solemnly administered to him by Chief-Justice Taney, the two Presidents wended their way back, duly escorted, to the White House, at whose door Mr. Buchanan bade Mr. Lincoln a cordial good-bye, retiring to the residence of his friend and beneficiary, Robert Ould, whom he had made U. S. District Attorney, and who, though from Maryland, soon after fled to Richmond, and entered at once the military service of the Confederacy.

*The American Conflict*, Horace Greeley, page 427.

### At the Head of the Crumbling Government

It was in the midst of all this deplorable helplessness and distraction that Lincoln assumed his duties as head of the crumbling government, and of all the earnest supporters of the Union, he alone displayed any calmness or presence of mind, and his Inaugural Address contained almost the first decisive utterance on the legal aspect of the situation. . . .

No State could, of its own motion, lawfully withdraw from the Union, he declared with firmness. It was not necessary that the Constitution should contain any express provision forbidding such action. Perpetuity was implied, if not expressed, in the fundamental law of all national governments. No government proper ever had a provision in its organic law for its own termination. But if the United States was not a government proper, but a mere association of States bound by an agreement in the nature of a contract, then the law of contracts applied. One party to a legal contract might *violate* it, *break* it, so to speak, but mutual consent of all the parties was necessary before it could be lawfully rescinded.

*Lincoln the Lawyer*, Frederick Trevor Hill, page 295.

### The New President's First Perplexity

On the 28th of February Major Anderson's case had become so desperate that he wrote a letter to the War Department at Washington, describing the perils of his situation and saying that, in his opinion, it would require a force of twenty thousand men to throw reinforcements into his garrison in season to save him from starvation. This letter was not received by the Department until the 4th day of March. The next day it was presented to President Lincoln, who immediately laid the case before General Scott. . . . The Government had not such a body of men at its disposal; neither could it raise them before the garrison would be out of provisions. . . .

The President was in a sad dilemma. He did not want to use force against the Rebels if he could help it. He had told them in his Inaugural Address that there would be no war unless they began it. . . . After a great deal of reflection and a conference with General Scott, the President concluded that he would reinforce Fort Pickens . . . because he thought he had men enough at his command to do this; and perhaps by the time this was accom-

# LINCOLN LORE

No. 47

FORT WAYNE, INDIANA

March 3, 1930

## LINCOLN LORE

BULLETIN OF  
THE LINCOLN  
HISTORICAL  
RESEARCH  
FOUNDATION



ENDOWED BY  
THE LINCOLN  
NATIONAL LIFE  
INSURANCE  
COMPANY

Dr. Louis A. Warren . . . Editor

### THE FIRST INAUGURAL

Tomorrow, March 4, marks the anniversary of Abraham Lincoln's first inaugural address. While the remarks of the President on this occasion are of supreme importance and their place among the outstanding utterances of mankind securely established, the atmosphere in which this address was delivered and the personnel of the group in the immediate background of the speaker are also of interest. Some excerpts have been gathered for this number of Lincoln Lore which may help to visualize the setting for this memorable occasion.

#### A Warm March Day

"But to return to the inauguration of Lincoln . . . I have never seen an inauguration day so warm as the one turned out to be, although a little cloudy in early morning. I started out with a party of friends to go to the Capitol and when we had gone a little way I went back with their wraps to the hotel and brought sun shades instead. A lot of the boys from the Virginia Military Institute, to make a show of the Spring weather we were having, came here in white trousers and straw hats, but I have always had an idea that some of them must have taken back home with them about what we now call the grippe . . . no matter how warm the middle of the day on the avenue may be in March, the weather is very treacherous after the sun goes down. Lincoln's inaugural address was short but impressive and as I heard his closing paragraph I concluded that we had elected a President who was a great, strong man. The parade that followed was short and was more like a trades-procession as I remember it, than a military display. There was a carriage with thirty-four little girls representing the States of the Union, and several features of symbolic interest."

Correspondent "Lincoln," Boston Evening Transcript, February 26, 1897.

#### Lincoln's Restlessness

"When he (Lincoln) came forward it was evident to those who knew him that he had been elaborately "fixed up" for the occasion by someone with more zeal than reason. He was arrayed in a full suit of regulation black including

a dress coat, an article he had probably never worn before in his life; a brand new silk hat, and a ponderous gold-headed cane completed a costume in which the owner looked, and was, exceedingly uncomfortable and awkward. After standing hesitantly a moment, his cane in one hand and hat in the other, he got rid of the former by thrusting it up in the angle of the railing, but the disposition of the hat evidently puzzled him. There was no room on the small table and he did not like to put it on the floor, so there he stood in the concentrated gaze of assembled thousands clutching the glossy beaver and looking around in painful embarrassment. Douglas occupied a seat not directly behind Mr. Lincoln but several seats in the rear on the end of the bench at the right of the entrance on the platform. He apprehended the situation of his old friend and voluntarily rising, gracefully took the hat and held it until the conclusion of the address. He listened with the closest attention to the address and frequently nodded his head in approbation of the sentiment expressed. That historic document, afterwards shown to a representative of The Republican, was written throughout by Mr. Lincoln's own pen on medium sized paper. The manuscript resembled an ordinary school copy book."

Illinois Journal, October 9, 1879, reprinted from St. Louis Republican.

#### Buchanan, Taney and Lincoln

"The seats upon the platform were filled by those to whom they had been assigned and a cheer from fifty thousand lusty throats went up as a trio of mental, moral, and physical worth approached the temporary shelter in the immediate center. Venerable indeed was the Chief Justice, Robert E. Taney. What thoughts must have passed through his well-disciplined mind! How, with the eye of a historian, must have run back more than sixty years to the date of his first oath of office as Chief Justice of the United States a fit successor to the great Marshall, then dead. How, as looking during a few moments delay from his elevation upon the vast crowd before him in which thousands of dusty faces, free and enslaved as well, appeared, must have risen before him his famous Dred Scott decision in which he declared negroes as beings of an "inferior order" altogether unfit to associate with the white race through any social or political relations and so far inferior that they had "no right which the white man was bound to respect." And then, as looking at the courtly form and personal dignity of Buchanan on his left and the earnest solemnity stamped on the face of the tall incomer upon his right, must have arisen before him the long line of men to whom he had administered the oath now about

to be taken by Abraham Lincoln. It was indeed a significant moment to Robert E. Taney and he indeed was a fit complement to the two distinguished factors in affairs with whom he appeared, part and parcel of an illustrious trio. The oath being administered, President Lincoln stepped to the front . . . great interest was naturally felt in Lincoln's inaugural address. Horace Greeley says of Lincoln—"His faith in reason as a moral force was so implicit that he did not cherish a doubt but his inaugural address, whereon he had put so much thought and labor would, when read throughout the South, dissolve the Confederacy as the frost is dissolved by a vernal sun. I sat just behind him as he read it on a bright, warm, still, March day, expecting to hear the delivery arrested by the crack of a rifle aimed at his heart, but it pleased God to postpone the deed. Although there was forty times the opportunity to shoot him in 1861 that there was in 1865 and at least forty times as many intent on killing or having him killed. There was no bullet fired. Lincoln's address, although read, produced profound impression. It was heard with perfect distinctness by at least ten thousand, if not fifteen thousand of the people assembled."

Joseph Howard, Jr., in Boston Globe, July 1, 1888.

#### The Capitol

"The day for inauguration came. Never before had there been so many people in Washington. Soldiers were stationed in groups along Pennsylvania Avenue and on the roofs of buildings. Cavalrymen rode beside the carriage that bore President Buchanan and Mr. Lincoln from Willet Hotel to the Capitol. Not far away artillerymen were sitting on their caissons or on their horses ready to move in an instant should General Scott give the signal. But the conspirators who had plotted the death of Mr. Lincoln did not dare attempt his assassination. Thousands had gathered to witness the inauguration. The Capitol was unfinished. Above the throng rose the huge derrick by which the marble and iron for the construction of the dome were lifted . . . Mr. Lincoln lays his right hand upon the open Bible, a hush falls upon the vast multitude as he repeats after Chief Justice Taney the words—"I, Abraham Lincoln, do solemnly swear that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States."

Charles C. Coffin, press correspondent, in his book on Abraham Lincoln, page 236.

# LINCOLN LORE

Bulletin of the Lincoln National Life Foundation - - - - - Dr. Louis A. Warren, Editor.  
Published each week by The Lincoln National Life Insurance Company, of Fort Wayne, Indiana.

No. 361

FORT WAYNE, INDIANA

March 9, 1936

## PRESIDENTS LIVING WHEN LINCOLN WAS INAUGURATED

Six Presidents of the United States were living in 1861 when the Union was on the verge of collapse. They were: The Eighth President, Van Buren, age 79; the Tenth President, Tyler, age 71; the Thirteenth President, Fillmore, age 61; the Fourteenth President, Pierce, age 57; the Fifteenth President, Buchanan, age 70; and the Sixteenth President, Lincoln, age 52.

It was shortly after Lincoln's inauguration that the country came near having a President's Club. Franklin Pierce wrote to the other former presidents in March, 1861, suggesting that "they get together in Independence Hall, Philadelphia, to try and devise means to avert Civil War." It was in this hall that Abraham Lincoln, a few days previous to this special call by Pierce, had spoken these words:

"I have often inquired of myself what great principle or idea it was that kept this Confederacy so long together. It was not the mere matter of separation of the colonies from the motherland, but that sentiment in the Declaration of Independence which gave liberty not alone to the people of this country, but hope to all the world, for all future time. It was that which gave promise that in due time the weights would be lifted from the shoulders of all men, and that all should have an equal chance. This is the sentiment embodied in the Declaration of Independence. Now, my friends, can this country be saved on that basis? If it can, I will consider myself one of the happiest men in the world if I can help to save it. If it cannot be saved upon that principle, it will be truly awful. But if this country cannot be saved without giving up that principle, I was about to say I would rather be assassinated on this spot than surrender it. Now, in my view of the present aspect of affairs, there is no need of such a course; and I may say in advance that there will be no bloodshed unless it is forced upon the government. The government will not use force, unless force is used against it."

President Pierce's proposal for a meeting of the past presidents evidently failed to materialize and an opportunity to organize America's first President's Club went by default. It would have been a short-lived club at the best, as five of the six men eligible for membership were dead within the next eight years. It will be observed that Lincoln was the youngest of the group which may have suggested to the older heads that the youngster might appreciate some fatherly advice.

### THE PRESIDENTS

1782—Martin Van Buren—1862

Eighth President

Senator in New York Legislature, 1813-1820.

Attorney General, State of New York, 1815-1819.

Democratic United States Senator, 1821-1828.

Governor of New York, 1828-1829.

Secretary of State in Jackson's Cabinet, 1829-1831.

Democratic Vice President of United States, 1832-1836.

Democratic President of United States, 1837-1841.

1790—John Tyler—1862

Tenth President

Democratic United States Congressman, 1817-1821.

Governor of Virginia, 1825-1827.

Democratic United States Senator, 1827-1836.

Whig Vice President of United States, 1841.

Whig President of United States, 1841-1845.

Elected to Confederate Congress, 1861.

1800—Millard Fillmore—1874

Thirteenth President

Representative in New York Legislature, 1829-1831.

Whig United States Congressman, 1833-1835, 1837-1843.

Whig Vice President of United States, 1849.

Whig President of United States, 1850-1853.

1804—Franklin Pierce—1869

Fourteenth President

Representative in New Hampshire Legislature, 1829-1833.

Democratic United States Senator, 1837-1842.

Democratic President of United States, 1853-1857.

1791—James Buchanan—1868

Fifteenth President

Representative in Pennsylvania Legislature, 1814-1815.

Federalist United States Congressman, 1821-1831.

Minister to Russia, 1832-1834.

Democratic United States Senator, 1834-1845.

Secretary of State in Polk's Cabinet, 1845-1849.

Minister to Great Britain, 1853-1856.

Democratic President of United States, 1857-1861.

1809—Abraham Lincoln—1865

Sixteenth President

Representative in Illinois Legislature, 1834-1842.

Whig United States Congressman, 1847-1848.

Republican President of United States, 1861-1865.

Union President of United States, 1865.

This group of six presidents who would save the Union from civil strife were evenly divided as far as political affiliations were concerned; three were Democrats and three had originally been associated with the Whigs. If the incumbent, Lincoln, had not been invited to the contemplated conference, it would have been three Democrats over against two Whigs. It is interesting to note to what extent these presidents participated in the affairs of the government during the trying times through which the country was then passing.

Van Buren lived but a short time after the administration of Lincoln was well under way. He died on July 24, 1862. He had been the anti-slavery candidate for the President in 1848, running on an anti-slavery platform, but was defeated.

John Tyler lived but ten months after Lincoln was inaugurated, but in that brief period he had given unmistakable evidence as to his point of view. He was a delegate to the peace convention in 1861; a delegate to the Confederate Provisional Congress in 1861; and was elected to the Confederate Congress the same year, but died January 24, 1862, before the assembling of the congress at Richmond.

When Lincoln was enroute to Washington for the inaugural in 1861, Fillmore entertained him in his home at Buffalo, and on Sunday, February 17, they attended church together. Although Fillmore was sixty-one years of age when the war began, he commanded a corps of home guards during the war.

Franklin Pierce, in his inaugural address on March 4, 1853, denounced slavery agitation and maintained the constitutionality of slavery. He selected Jefferson Davis as Secretary of War in his cabinet, and Davis served for four years. James Buchanan was made Minister to Great Britain during his administration. Pierce held that "the institution of slavery was embedded in and guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States, and that therefore it was the duty of the National Government to protect it. In the 1860 election he favored Breckinridge over Douglas. On April 21, 1865, he addressed a mass meeting at Concord, New Hampshire, and urged the people to sustain the Government against the Confederacy.

After his successor, Abraham Lincoln, was inaugurated, Buchanan returned to his home at Lancaster, Pennsylvania. He took little active part in national affairs, but supported as a private citizen the maintenance of the war for the preservation of the Union.

After a day of general debate the time came for us to cast our votes one way or the other respecting this joint resolution for additional appropriations for relief; and after hearing the arguments presented by the Members of Congress representing their constituencies in the various parts of the country, who, like myself, are familiar with conditions of unemployment in their own congressional districts, it was apparent that this resolution would pass with a tremendous majority, which it did; and I was one of those who voted in favor of it.

It is always a source of great personal pride for me to join with my colleagues in this House in supporting the President in his program for national defense. It is well known that I have many times taken the floor of the House to express the sentiment that adequate national defense is the great bulwark of peace so far as our relations with other nations are concerned. Today I have little fear of the enemy from without, but I believe that we should be everlastingly alert to protect ourselves from the enemy within; and by voting appropriations for relief we are able to supply needed work and instill personal respectability in the unemployed in our midst. There is no period in a nation's history when it finds itself more vulnerable to subversive influences than in times of depression and internal suffering. While times are out of joint and economic pressures have thrown us out of economic balance, and while the Congress is attempting to reconstruct these disjointed conditions by correcting the abuses in the stock markets of the country, the grain and commodity markets, giving appropriate help to the interests of this country, encouraging home building, home possession and occupation, and creating vast public works, and while the forces of these newly enacted laws are taking effect in rebalancing the economy of the country, we must in the meantime protect our people who might come under the spell of a false leadership preaching new and untried doctrines; and we must prevent them from being enamored of some new doctrine of government, all of which would lead inevitably into the quicksands and quagmires of disappointment.

In my opinion, the number who would follow such subversive influences would be small, but a very effective minority, who might in time overthrow the existing state of things, and I believe that our President and the Democratic Party should be given great credit for evolving new means whereby these subversive doctrines may be defeated.

So in the meantime, as I have said, we have provided employment funds for helping our fellow citizens through the P. W. A., the W. P. A., the C. C. C. camps, road building and public works, and many other projects that I might enumerate.

We are agreed that radical movements thrive on hungry stomachs, and even though the opposition press calls attention to the huge national debt of the United States, I know from my personal experience that the sober and sane business leaders are far less concerned with the national debt than they are concerned with the menace of communism, fascism, nazi-ism, or their counterpart, being set up in this representative democracy.

From my travels and my experience, I know that we are privileged to live in the greatest land on earth, whose fertile valleys and great plains produce more than enough to feed us all, to clothe us all, and to house us all; and that those on the Continent and in the Near East and Far East live under conditions which are not as pleasant and where the future outlook is not as optimistic as for millions of citizens in our own land. Let us not think in terms of setting up a new political philosophy as the agency of government for our people but let us rather correct our economy of things so that we may all enjoy the fruits of a rich and generous land. For as President Roosevelt has so aptly stated:

The test of our progress is not whether we add more to the abundance of those who have much; it is whether we provide enough for those who have too little.

### The Turnverein of Pennsylvania

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. JACOBSEN

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, February 17, 1938*

ADDRESS OF HON. GEORGE H. EARLE, GOVERNOR OF PENNSYLVANIA, AT LINCOLN COMMEMORATION EXERCISES, SOLDIERS MEMORIAL HALL, PITTSBURGH, FEBRUARY 13, 1938

Mr. JACOBSEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the address delivered by Governor Earle, of Pennsylvania, on the occasion of reconsecrating four flags carried by Lincoln's bodyguard at his first inauguration, March 4, 1861. Lincoln's bodyguard on that day were the German Turners of the city of Washington. The reconsecrating program was given under the auspices of the Jahn Educational Fund and the Pittsburgh District of the American Turnerbund.

The address is as follows:

Like most of you who are assembled here today, I was glad to hear tribute paid to the great part played by liberty-loving Germans in the formative days of this democracy, especially by the German Turners, in the election of Lincoln and the successful outcome of the war dedicated to the principles of the rights of man as well as the preservation of the Union.

When I accepted the invitation to be present and assist in the dedication of these four tattered banners, I did so not only because I revere the memory of Lincoln and try as best I can to follow his guiding star, but also because I have an abiding respect for the part that German patriots have played in the building of America.

But on talking with my German friends about this matter I discovered many things I did not know before—about Lincoln, about the Germans in our land, and especially about the German Turners and their love for Honest Abe Lincoln, whom the world honors as its shining example of the common man risen to high place.

Looking into this chapter of American history that could be written around these four banners, I found that the American Turners were the strongest supporters of Pathfinder Fremont and the strongest opponents of slavery. In 1855 at their convention in Buffalo they adopted this resolution:

"The Turners are opposed to slavery and regard this institution as unworthy of a republic and not in accord with the principles of freedom."

When one remembers that the first American Turnverein had been founded less than 7 years earlier, in Cincinnati, and our great Philadelphia Turngemeinde, represented here today, only 6 years earlier, we realize that the Turners of those days were true citizens, thinking in terms of fundamental Americanism and eternal human rights.

Among other things I have learned about those early Turners was their defense of free speech. Reformers like Wendell Phillips depended upon the Turners to protect them against proslavery mobs. Orators like Carl Schurz proclaimed to all the citizens of the land the glorious gospel of liberty—not liberty for one class or creed or color but liberty for all human beings, with equal opportunity and equal rights. Those were the principles of Abraham Lincoln, they were the principles of the Turners, those were the principles symbolized by these four tattered banners and this historic drum.

Most significant of all is the fact that the first man in America to mention the name of Abraham Lincoln for the Presidency was a Turner in Belleville, Ill. His name was Gustav Koerner; years later Lincoln sent him as American Ambassador to Spain. He was also a delegate, along with Carl Schurz, to the convention that nominated Lincoln.

His loyalty to Lincoln was recognized when he was selected to serve as one of the pallbearers at the last rites of our great martyr President.

When Lincoln ran against Douglas his two most ardent platform orators were this Gustav Koerner and Carl Schurz. In the Chicago convention that nominated Lincoln sat 42 men born in Germany. In the six pivotal States, without which he could not have been elected, 450,000 German votes were cast for Lincoln and swung the election; and as soon as Lincoln had been nominated the executive committee of the American Turnerbund issued several proclamations urging all its members to support Abraham Lincoln.

# LINCOLN LORE

Bulletin of the Lincoln National Life Foundation - - - - Dr. Louis A. Warren, Editor  
Published each week by The Lincoln National Life Insurance Company, Fort Wayne, Indiana

Number 623

FORT WAYNE, INDIANA

March 17, 1941

## BROADCASTING LINCOLN'S FIRST INAUGURAL

Eighty years ago this month Abraham Lincoln was inaugurated President of the United States. There were no radio announcers to give an account of this epochal ceremony. When Franklin D. Roosevelt was recently inaugurated for his third term, there were some very extravagant statements made over the air in an attempt to create the idea in the minds of the listeners that all other inaugurations fell into discard compared with the setting at Washington on January 20, 1941. We wonder.

Without any attempt to overemphasize some of the episodes associated with Abraham Lincoln's First Inaugural, a radio announcer could have portrayed the scene on March 4, 1861, something like this:

Ladies and gentlemen of the radio audience, this is Inauguration Day in the national capital and a very beautiful day it is. We are going to give you a picture of that part of the proceedings which includes the inaugural procession and the inaugural ceremonies. Microphones have been installed here at the Willard Hotel where the President-elect, Mr. Lincoln, will join President Buchanan, and on the newly erected stands in front of the Capitol Building where the oath will be administered.

Never before in the history of the country have so many people crowded into this city as are present today to witness the inaugural ceremonies. Whether or not the rumors that the President-elect will be assassinated before he can be inaugurated have any foundation, it is difficult to learn, but there is great resentment toward him.

Every precaution is being taken to guard Mr. Lincoln. The entire military force of the District of Columbia under the direction of General Scott is available. Scores of heavily armed men, many from Mr. Lincoln's home state of Illinois, are in the city to see that the proceedings shall not be interrupted by violence. The fact that several states have already seceded from the Union creates a tension here that has never before been felt in this capital city.

Regular troops are stationed at intervals along Pennsylvania Avenue, sharpshooters are in strategic positions on the tops of the taller buildings along the route, and mounted officers stationed at every corner to report to General Scott the progress of the procession.

Our microphone is so placed here at the Willard Hotel that we can get a full view of the entire route of the procession until the column approaches the Capitol, and we will attempt to describe its progress. The carriage bringing President Buchanan from the White House is now drawing up in front of the hotel, and we may expect Mr. Lincoln to step out of the entrance at any moment. There is a great throng about the hotel here to get the first glimpse of the President-elect, and it is with some difficulty that the path to the carriage is kept open. Some have predicted that if the life of Mr. Lincoln is threatened, it will be here, and the moment he appears in the open may be the most intense moment of the entire ceremonies.

The milling of the crowd about the entrance indicates that Mr. Lincoln is approaching and here he is, Abraham Lincoln of Illinois, the first President to be born west of the Allegheny Mountains. No one has any difficulty in picking him out of the mass of people as he stands above them all. When he stops bowing and puts on his top-hat, his six foot four inch figure will be increased about a foot. He has reached the carriage and has taken his seat beside President Buchanan. Senator Edward Baker and Senator James Alfred Pearce have also entered the barouche and taken seats opposite the President and President-elect.

A guard of honor of the regular cavalry surrounds the carriage. Mounted marshals four files deep give further security to the occupants of the carriage. Behind the carriage march regiments of regulars and marines fully armed. Falling in behind the armed militia are the veterans of the Revolutionary War, the War of 1812, and the Mexican War. Next in line we observe members of the Peace Congress and then follow delegations from the various states, about a thousand of them.

A group of young ladies occupy a float drawn by four white horses. They represent the various states of the Union. We observe some of them are quarreling. A company of Wide-Awakes serves as an escort. Here is a strange sight for Washington to gaze on, a division of colored volunteers, the first colored men ever to march as a unit in a military procession.

The front of the procession has moved up Pennsylvania Avenue without any disturbing incident thus far, and we will now turn you over to our announcer at the Capitol who will give you an account of the proceedings in the Inauguration proper.

The location of our microphones here at the Capitol allows us to get a good view of all that is to take place on this platform erected in front of the eastern portico. General Scott has drawn up his two batteries so that they control the plateau which extends before the east front of the Capitol. Several companies of soldiers are just in front of the platform from which Mr. Lincoln will speak.

President Buchanan, President-elect Lincoln, and the nation's leading officials and diplomats are now taking their positions on the platform. Mrs. Lincoln and several ladies are also observed in the group. An old friend of Mr. Lincoln, Senator Edward Baker from Oregon, is about to introduce Mr. Lincoln.

Mr. Lincoln has just stepped forward, placed the large cane he carries against a railing, and he now seems to be trying to find some place to put his top-hat. Senator Douglas is stepping forward and apparently is going to hold Mr. Lincoln's hat for him. This is a fine gesture on the part of Douglas who debated with Mr. Lincoln in 1858. Mr. Lincoln is putting on some spectacles and is about to read his message. Now back to the speakers' microphone for the Inaugural Address.

"Fellow-citizens of the United States: In compliance with a custom as old as the government itself, I appear before you to address you briefly, and to take in your presence the oath prescribed by the Constitution of the United States to be taken by the President 'before he enters on the execution of his office'....

"I am loath to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature."

You have just heard the new President-elect of the United States, Abraham Lincoln, deliver his Inaugural Address. He will now take the oath of office administered by Chief Justice Taney. The aged Chief Justice is now stepping forward and the Clerk of the Senate is holding the Bible on which Mr. Lincoln has placed one hand. He has now raised his other hand to take the oath.

Abraham Lincoln is now declared the Sixteenth President of the United States.

# LINCOLN LORE

Bulletin of the Lincoln National Foundation - - - - Dr. Louis A. Warren, Editor  
Published each week by The Lincoln National Life Insurance Company, Fort Wayne, Indiana

Number 1241

FORT WAYNE, INDIANA

January 19, 1953

## LINCOLN'S FIRST INAUGURAL — MISCELLANY

The inauguration of a President of the United States occurring but once in every four years makes the event an occasion of great significance. The inauguration of 1953 would seem to create a proper environment to review some of the incidents which took place during the first inauguration of Abraham Lincoln in 1861. *Lincoln Lore* through the years has touched upon many phases of the ceremonies including several monographs on the address itself. For this issue of the bulletin it would seem quite appropriate to collect from the daily press and other contemporary sources of that day a miscellany of unrelated episodes which have enough of the human interest element about them to warrant their reprinting.

### Sleeping in the Capital

"Over twenty-thousand strangers were in the city, many of whom slept the night previous to inauguration day in the Capital and in the streets—it being absolutely impossible to find rooms or beds anywhere."

### Mrs. Lincoln at Willard's Hotel

"Mrs. Lincoln, who is fast winning the hearts of all who call upon her, on account of her exceedingly pleasant and sociable nature, which is blended with a grace and dignity of nature seldom combined, bears the fatigues of her new position with becoming patience! Mrs. Lincoln and Mrs. Hamlin are attended by several of their personal friends."

### Douglas Holds Lincoln's Hat

"A Cincinnati paper says that at the inauguration, Mr. Lincoln's hat being in danger, Mr. Douglas said 'permit me, sir,' and gallantly took the vexatious article and held it during the entire reading of the inaugural! He must have reflected pretty seriously during that half hour, that instead of delivering an inaugural address from that portico, he was holding the hat of the man who was doing it."

### Three Photographers

"A small camera was directly in front of Mr. Lincoln, another at a distance of a hundred yards, and a third of huge dimensions on his right, raised on a platform built specially for the purpose."

### Releasing the Address to the Press

"The inaugural will not be delivered to the press until Mr. Lincoln begins to read it, when, by his own direction, a copy prepared for that purpose will be delivered to the agent of the Associated Press for immediate transmission over the wires, and another copy will be submitted to the Washington papers."

### Steel Bowed Spectacles

"Senator Baker of Oregon introduced Mr. Lincoln to the assembly. . . . He lays down his manuscript, clasps his hands in his pockets and pulls out a pair of steel bowed spectacles . . . a lusty hawkeyed fellow cries out, 'Take off them spectacles, we want to see your eyes'."

### Lincoln's Delivery

"The inaugural was delivered in a clear and emphatic voice, which never faltered throughout, and reached nearly to the outskirts of the vast throng. It was frequently interrupted with applause but most vehemently at the point where he announced his inflexible purpose to execute the laws and discharge his whole constitutional duty."

### But One Gesture

"Lincoln spoke with deep earnestness and fervor. His diction was forceful and strong and revealed to me the fact that he was a man of careful and deep research. . . . He had his manuscript before him but seemed to know his remarks by heart. He made only one gesture throughout his oration, the rest of the time his arms hanging loosely at his side. When he uttered the sentence, 'No state has the right to secede' he brought his clenched fist down with a resounding thump on the table."

### Taney's Eighth Presidential Oath Administered

"The inauguration of today makes the eighth ceremony of the kind at which Judge Taney has officiated, having administered the oath of office successively to Presidents Van Buren, Tyler, Polk, Taylor, Fillmore, Pierce, Buchanan and Lincoln."

### Lincoln Not Frightened

"Mr. Lincoln was asked whether he felt at all frightened while delivering his inaugural address, the threats of assassination having been so numerous. He replied that he had no such sensation, and that he had often experienced much greater fear in addressing a dozen Western men on the subject of temperance."

### Kissing Little Girls

"On entering the White House he was conducted to the Blue room, when, after an introduction to the marshals, aids, and officials, the public were admitted. Thirty-two little girls, with wreaths about their heads, and bearing little blue flags, were introduced individually, and audibly kissed by the President. The hair of one catching in the President's waistcoat button, caused much merriment and some difficulty to disentangle."

### Attending the Inaugural Ball

"President Lincoln entered, leaning upon the arms of Vice President Hamlin and Senator Anthony of Rhode Island. Immediately behind them, to the intense astonishment of all, came Mrs. Lincoln leaning on the arm of Senator Douglas, more popularly known as the Little Giant . . . with her came Miss Edwards, her niece, a lovely creature."

### The Self-Possessed Mrs. Lincoln

"Mrs. Lincoln who followed in his (the President's) wake on the arm of the self-possessed Senator Douglas, is still more self-possessed, and has with more readiness adapted herself than her taller half, to the exalted station to which she has so strangely advanced, from the simple social life of the little inland Capital of Illinois. Women learn such things much faster than men. Mrs. Lincoln shows us, on her choice of blue on this occasion, as the color which fits her fair complexion best that she is no stranger to the beautiful science of the toilet."

### The Belle of the Inaugural Ball

"At 12½ o'clock the quadrille of the evening was danced—Douglas and Mrs. Lincoln, Hamlin and Miss Edwards, Mayor Berret and Mrs. Bergman, Mr. Harrard and Mrs. Baker composing the set. Miss Edwards, niece of Mrs. Lincoln, is acknowledged to be the belle of the evening. The ladies of the Presidential Party are dressed exquisitely, and in perfect taste."

See *Lincoln Lores* 47, 203, 308, 358, 359, 623.

# LINCOLN LORE

Bulletin of the Lincoln National Foundation - - - - Dr. Louis A. Warren, Editor  
Published each week by The Lincoln National Life Insurance Company, Fort Wayne, Indiana

Number 1243

FORT WAYNE, INDIANA

February 2, 1953

## LINCOLN'S FIRST INAUGURAL — PRO AND CON

A biased press is one of the by-product of a two party political system, and most papers, even those claiming to be independent, are major factors in spreading propaganda pro and con before and after each presidential campaign. Sometimes it appears as if the spirit of fair play seems to be lacking, which one looks for in nearly every contest where there seems to be a difference of opinion. The tendency to exaggerate the importance of a casual statement, the deleting of phrases in a sentence which changes the meaning of the argument, the misquoting of remarks which conveys a false impression

and the attack on one's character through innuendo, are a few of the below the belt blows which are often observed.

While the partisan approach seemed to have greatly diminished during the last campaign it was running at high tide during the first administration of Abraham Lincoln. The comments on the inaugural address of President Eisenhower seem to invite an exhibit of statements pro and con which appeared in the press after President Lincoln had delivered his first inaugural.

### PRO

"A truer, or safer, or more patriotic policy it would be impossible, at this time, to inaugurate."

*Newark (N. J.) Mercury.*

"Its arguments are logical and convincing; its recommendations are expedient and right; and it cannot fail to be popular."

*Auburn (N. Y.) Union.*

"The whole civilized world will echo Lincoln's Inaugural, and agree that it is fair to both sides, and worthy of a patriot statesman."

*Hartford Courant.*

"The address is in admirable tone and temper. It breathes throughout the kindest spirit to the 'dissatisfied' people of the Southern States."

*Philadelphia Inquirer.*

"His words are not designated to conceal his thoughts. They are rather intended to express his ideas concisely and decidedly as possible."

*N. Y. Commercial Advertiser.*

"The address is as clearly decided in tone as it is mild. All other questions but the maintenance of the Union are allowed to pass untouched."

*New-Yorker Demokrat.*

"No one can fail to perceive the sharp, plain, and unmistakable language of Mr. Lincoln. There has been no such address since the days of Jackson."

*Zion's Herald, Boston.*

"It is just what we expected from a man whom we believe to be honest, and to be in the habit of using language in order to express his thoughts and opinions."

*Pittsburgh Journal.*

"The address is a calm, dispassionate, firm and satisfactory exposition of the doctrines of the Republican party, and the wants of the country. Taken as a whole, it meets our approbation."

*Fall River (Mass.) News.*

"We have no hesitation in saying that we regard the Inaugural as grand and admirable in every respect—being sound in its positions, patriotic in spirit, unanswerable in its arguments, and precisely fitted for the emergency."

*Boston Journal.*

### CON

"The whole Message appears to be a loose, disjointed, rambling affair."

*Chicago Times.*

"No action of our Convention can now maintain peace. Virginia must fight."

*Richmond Enquirer.*

"The President holds out, except in words, mere words, very little of the olive branch."

*New York Express.*

"To our appreciation, this is the death-knell of peace. No sane man understands it in any other light."

*Baltimore Republican.*

"In a word, the Inaugural is not a crude performance—it abounds in traits of craft and cunning. It bears marks of indecision."

*N. Y. Herald.*

"There are some portions of it that display ability, but it is by no means certain that for these Mr. Lincoln is responsible."

*New London Star.*

"The policy indicated toward the seceding States will meet the stern and unyielding resistance of the united South."

*Richmond Whig.*

"Mr. Lincoln is no more successful with his pen than in making speeches; his talent evidently lies not in these accomplishments."

*New York State's Zeitung.*

"Mr. Lincoln's Inaugural, taken as a whole, is one of the most awkwardly constructed official documents we have ever inspected."

*Philadelphia Evening Journal.*

"Mr. Lincoln has utterly failed to recommend any measure looking to the preservation of peace and to the preservation of the Union."

*Philadelphia Pennsylvanian.*

"We much mistake the tendency of this wretchedly botched and unstatesmanlike paper, if it does not damage the cause of the Union, and strengthen the secessionists."

*Hartford (Conn.) Times.*

"The Inaugural, as a whole, breathes the spirit of mischief. It has only a conditional conservatism—that is, the lack of ability or some expediency to do what it would."

*Baltimore Sun.*

# *Lincoln Inauguration Held Under Bayonets*

By RICHARD SPONG

*President Abraham Lincoln's first inauguration will be reenacted in Washington on Saturday (March 4), the 100th anniversary of the event.*

The day mirrored the mood of the nation. Dark clouds alternated with clear skies. Bayonets could be seen on the housetops along Pennsylvania Avenue.

There had been open threats that Abraham Lincoln would be shot before he was inaugurated. The President-elect had passed through Baltimore at night, inside a locked coach joined to a specially prepared express freight train. He wore a soft hat and an old overcoat to escape recognition.

An irresponsible reporter exaggerated the caution; Lincoln was described, inaccurately, as disguising himself in a plaid coat and Scotch cap. Newspapers ridiculed the President-elect as a coward who had sneaked into the city in fear of assassination, and the Baltimore Sun, no Lincoln champion, jibed:

Had we any respect for Mr. Lincoln, official or personal, as a man or as President-elect of the United States . . . the final escapade by which he reached the Capital would have utterly demolished it.

At noon President James Buchanan called on the President-elect at his hotel — Willard's, as it was then known — and together they rode down Pennsylvania Avenue. Lincoln watched while his running-mate, Hannibal Hamlin, took the oath of office.

When it came Lincoln's

turn to enter the portico, he is supposed to have been troubled with disposing of his shiny new hat. Tradition has Stephen A. Douglas holding it for him.

Then the man who was about to become the 16th President of the United States adjusted his spectacles and began to read from galley proofs pulled in Springfield and since much revised. Lincoln promised the South: "The government will not assail you." But balanced against that pledge was his resolve to "hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the government."

He made it clear that he was for calm conservatism.

"I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the states where it exists," he declared. "I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so."

The magnificent peroration of the First Inaugural, shaded only perhaps by the last paragraph of the Second, was a message of pure conciliation, added to the original text at the suggestion of Secretary of State Seward. "I am loth to close," said Lincoln. "We are not enemies but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battlefield, and patriot grave, to every living heart and hearthstone, all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature."

Then, on that rude platform at the east front of the unfinished Capitol, and before an enthusiastic but relatively small crowd, Lincoln took the oath. The inauguration had gone off without untoward incident — indeed, on the return route up Pennsylvania Avenue Lincoln stopped at Willard's to eat corn beef and cabbage and blackberry pie before going on to the White House. But the tension hung on — for all the brave and eloquent words, Lincoln must have known he was the Chief Executive of a nation about to dissolve.

*Centennial*

## Civil War

By HARRY McCORMICK

One hundred years ago today official announcement was made of the election of Abraham Lincoln as president, and Hannibal Hamlin vice-president, of the United States.

This election, perhaps as much as the slavery question and states' rights, precipitated the secession movement in the South. Within a month of the election South Carolina had seceded, followed by many of the other states that formed the Confederacy.

No president of the United States had as much cause to fear for his personal safety as did Lincoln when the results of the November election became known.

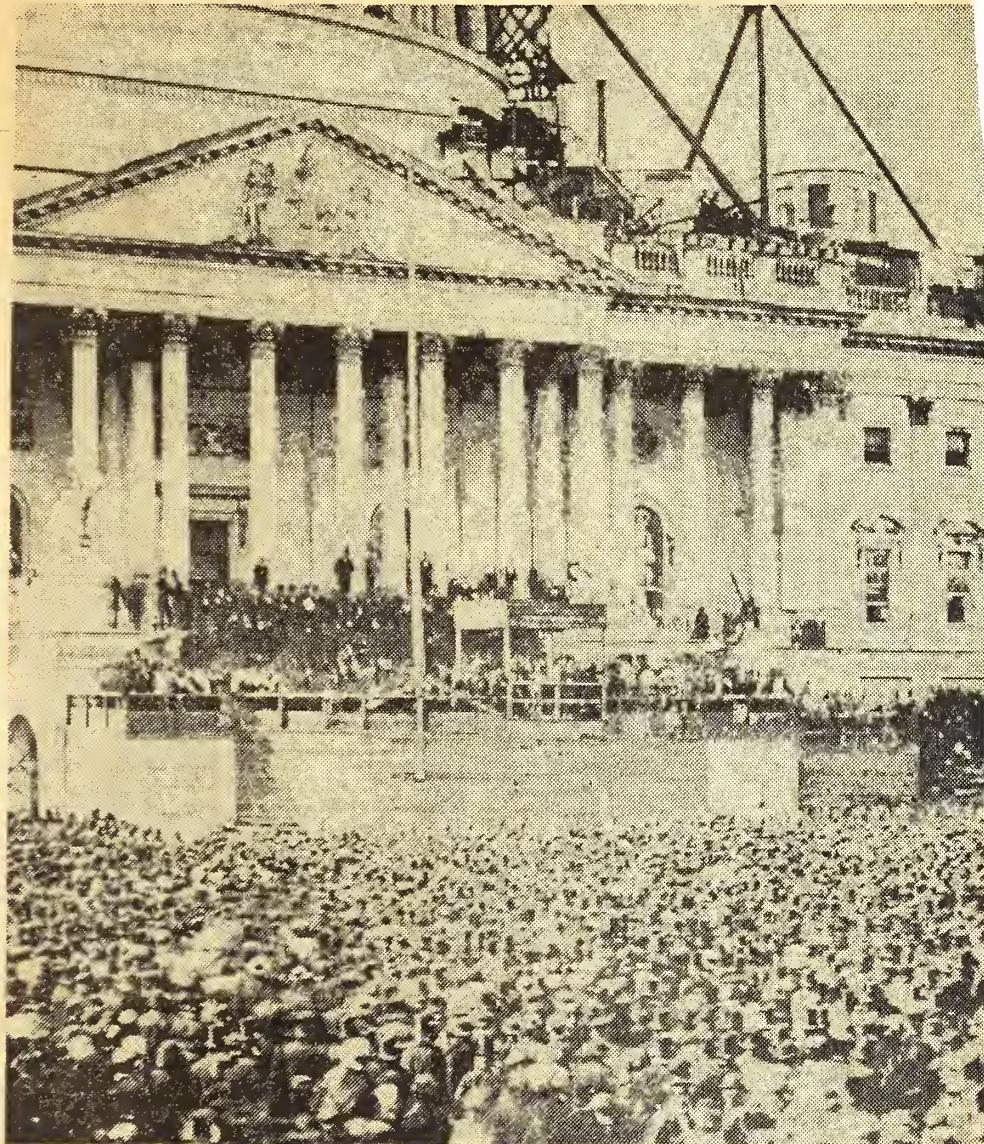
Lincoln himself, in his Springfield, Ill., home, at about this time sent Leonard Swett to Washington to survey what steps were being taken to safeguard him during the inauguration. Swett called upon Brig. Gen. Charles P. Stone, inspector general of the Army, and upon Gen. Winfield (Old Fuss and Feathers) Scott, chief of staff.

"Mr. Lincoln, and in fact almost everybody, is ignorant of the vast amount of work done here this winter by Gen. Scott and yourself to insure the existence of the government and to render certain and safe the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln," Stone quotes Swett in his memoirs. "He will be very grateful to both."

"Mr. Lincoln has no cause to be grateful to me," Stone replied. "I was opposed to his election and believed in advance that it would bring on what is evidently coming, a fearful war. The work I have done has not been for him and he need feel under no obligations to me. I have done my best toward saving the government of the country and to insure the inauguration of the constitutionally elected president."

, 1961

Sandusky D. Regnater



### When Lincoln Was Inaugurated

WASHINGTON—This photo from the files of the Smithsonian Institution here was made during the inauguration of Abraham Lincoln for his first term as President on March 4, 1861. He stood on the covered stand at center. A replica of the stand has been erected for a re-enactment of the Lincoln inauguration today. The scaffold at upper right was being used in building the Capitol dome, which was completed several years later.

AP Wirephoto





# Lincoln Lore

Bulletin of The Lincoln National Life Foundation . . . Dr. R. Gerald McMurtry, Editor  
Published each month by The Lincoln National Life Insurance Company, Fort Wayne, Indiana

No. 1523

FORT WAYNE, INDIANA

January, 1965

## Printing Lincoln's Inaugural Address

Editor's Note: Following Abraham Lincoln's inauguration as President of the United States, a special session of the Senate met on Wednesday, March 6, 1861. At this session Senator James Dixon, a Republican from Connecticut, offered the following resolution: "Resolved, that there be printed for the use of the Senate, the usual number of copies of the inaugural address of the President of the United States."

The Senate, by unanimous consent, proceeded to consider the resolution. This motion to print the inaugural speech of the President was a most unusual procedure. Likely, the real reason for the motion was to give the political friends of the President an opportunity to expound the views of Lincoln as set forth in his paper. This motion led to a debate that lasted two days. The Southern senators professed to read in Lincoln's inaugural a declaration of war and this contention was vigorously expressed by Senator Thomas L. Clingman, a Democrat from North Carolina. Finally, on March 8, 1861, the Dixon resolution to print the inaugural was adopted.

Throughout the long debate Senator Stephen A. Douglas, a Democrat from Illinois, assumed a surprising position by declaring that Mr. Lincoln's inaugural was not equivalent to a war declaration, rather that it would lead to a peaceful solution of our national difficulties. His speech (Monaghan No. 96) follows:

"Mr. President: I cannot assent to the construction which the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. Clingman] has placed upon the President's inaugural. I have read it carefully, with a view of ascertaining distinctly what the policy of the Administration is to be. The inaugural is characterized by ability, and by directness on certain points; but with such reservations and qualifications as require a critical analysis to arrive at its true construction on other points. I have made such an analysis, and come to the conclusion that it is a peace offering rather than a war message. Having examined it critically, I think I can demonstrate that there is no foundation for the apprehension which has been spread through the country that this message is equivalent to a declaration of war; that it commits the President of the United States to recapture the forts in the seceded States, and to hold them at all hazards, to collect the revenue under all circumstances, and to execute the laws in all the States, no matter what may be the circumstances that surround him. I do not understand that to be the character of the message. On the contrary, I understand it to contain a distinct pledge that the policy of the Administration shall be conducted with exclusive reference to a peaceful solution of our national difficulties. True, the President indicates a certain line of policy which he intends to pursue, so far as it may be consistent with the peace of the country, but he assures us that this policy will be modified and changed whenever necessary to a peaceful solution of these difficulties.

"The address is not as explicit as I could desire on certain points; on certain other points it is explicit. The message is explicit and certain upon the point that the President will not, directly or indirectly, interfere with

the institution of slavery within the States — is specific upon the point that he will do everything in his power to give a faithful execution to the Constitution and the laws for the return of fugitive slaves — is explicit upon the point that he will not oppose such amendments to the Constitution as may be deemed necessary to settle the slavery question and restore peace to the country. Then, it proceeds to indicate a line of policy for his Administration. He declares that, in view of the Constitution and laws, the Union remains unbroken. I do not suppose any man can deny the proposition, that in contemplation of law, the Union remains intact, no matter what the fact may be. There may be a separation *de facto*, temporary or permanent, as the sequel may prove; but, in contemplation of the Constitution and the laws, the Union does remain unbroken. I think no one can deny the correctness of the proposition, as a constitutional principle. Let us go further and see what there is in the address that is supposed to pledge the President to a coercive policy. He says: 'I shall take care, as the Constitution itself expressly enjoins upon me, that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the States.' This declaration is relied upon as a conclusive evidence that coercion is to be used in the seceding States; but take the next sentence: 'Doing this I deem to be only a simple duty on my part. I shall perform it, so far as is practicable, unless' — unless what? Let us see what the condition is on the happening of which he will not enforce the laws — 'unless my rightful masters, the American people, shall withhold the requisite means, or in some other authoritative manner direct the contrary.'

"This condition, on which he will not enforce the laws in the seceding States, is not as explicit as I could desire. When he alludes to his 'rightful masters, the American people,' I suppose he means the action of Congress in withholding the requisite means. Query: Does he wish to be understood as saying that the existing laws confer upon him 'the requisite means?' or, does he mean to say that inasmuch as the existing laws do not confer the requisite means, he cannot execute the laws in the seceding States unless those means shall be conferred by Congress? The language employed would seem to imply that the President was referring to the future action of Congress as necessary to give him the requisite means to enforce obedience to the laws in the seceding States. Doubtless the President was not uninformed of the fact that his friends in the House of Representatives had prepared a force bill, conferring these requisite means to coerce obedience in the seceding



From the Lincoln National Life Foundation

Stephen A. Douglas, running on the Northern Democratic ticket, was one of three candidates defeated by Lincoln in the Presidential Campaign of 1860. He received 12 electoral votes but ranked second to Lincoln with a popular vote of 1,376,957.

States, and that that bill was defeated in the House. He must be aware, historically, that in 1832, General Jackson deemed additional legislation necessary to enforce the revenue laws at Charleston, and that a force bill was then passed, which expired by its own limitation in a short time, I think two years, and is not now in force. Does Mr. Lincoln consider that he has any more power to coerce the collection of the revenue in Charleston harbor without further legislation than General Jackson had in 1832? When he pledges himself to collect the revenue and to enforce the laws in those States, unless Congress withdraws the requisite means to enable him to do so, is he not to be understood that whether he does enforce them or not depends upon the future action of Congress? I think that is the proper construction of his language.

"In a subsequent paragraph he says: 'The power confided to me will be used to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the Government, and to collect the duties and imposts.' What power? Does he mean that which has been confided, or that which may be confided? Does he mean that he will exercise the power unless Congress directs the contrary, or that he will exercise it when Congress confers it? I regret that this clause is understood by some persons as meaning that the President will use the whole military force of the country to recapture the forts, and other places, which have been seized without the assent of Congress. If such was his meaning, he was unfortunate in the selection of words to express the idea. He does not say that he will recapture or retake, hold and occupy the forts and other places. Nor does he say that he will recommend to Congress to furnish him men and money for such a purpose; but 'the power confided to me will be used to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the Government.' To say the least of it, this is equivocal language. I am not going to condemn him for it; my present object is not to censure, but to ascertain the true meaning of the inaugural, in order to learn whether the Administration is committed to an aggressive policy, which must inevitably involve us in civil war, or to a peaceful solution of our national troubles. He says further, 'but beyond what may be necessary for these objects, there will be no invasion, no using of force against or among the people anywhere.' He will use the power confided to him to hold, occupy, and possess the forts and other property, and to collect the revenue; but beyond these objects he will not use that power. I am unable to understand the propriety of the distinction between enforcing the revenue laws and all other laws. If it is his duty to enforce the revenue laws, why is it not his duty to enforce the other laws of the land? What right has he to say that he will enforce those laws that enable him to raise revenue, to levy and collect these taxes from the people, and that he will not enforce the laws which protect the rights of persons and property to the extent that the Constitution confers the power in those States? I reject the distinction; it cannot be justified in law or in morals. If taxes are to be collected, and the revenue laws are to be enforced, the laws that afford protection, as a compensation for the taxes, must also be enforced.

"The next paragraph is also objectionable. I will read it:

'Where hostility to the United States in any **interior** locality shall be so great and universal as to prevent competent resident citizens from holding the federal offices, there will be no attempt to force obnoxious strangers among the people for that object. While the strict legal right may exist in the government to enforce the exercise of these offices, the attempt to do so would be so irritating, and so nearly impracticable withal, I deem it better to forego, for the time, the uses of such offices.'

"I rejoice to know that he will not attempt to force obnoxious strangers to hold office in the interior places where public sentiment is hostile; but why draw the distinction between 'interior localities' and exterior places? Why the distinction between the States in the interior and those upon the sea-board? If he has the power in the one case, he has it in the other; if it be his duty in one case, it is his duty in the other. There is no provision of the Constitution or the laws which authorizes a distinction between the places upon the sea-board and the places in the interior.

"This brings me to the consideration of another clause

in the message which I deem the most important of all, and the key to his entire policy. I rejoiced when I read this declaration, and I wish to invite the attention of the Senate to it especially, as showing conclusively that Mr. Lincoln stands pledged to that policy which will lead to a peaceful solution, and against every policy that leads to the contrary. I will read the paragraph:

"The course here indicated will be followed, unless current events and experience shall show a modification or change to be proper, and in every case and exigency my best discretion will be exercised according to the circumstances actually existing, and with a view and hope of a peaceful solution of the national troubles and the restoration of fraternal sympathies and affections."

"After indicating the line of policy which he would pursue, if consistent with the peace of the country, he tells us emphatically that that course will be followed unless modifications and changes should be necessary to a peaceful solution of the national troubles, and if in any case or exigency a change of policy should be necessary, it will be made 'with a view and hope of a peaceful solution.' In other words, if the collection of the revenue leads to a peaceful solution, it is to be collected; if the abandonment of that policy is necessary to a peaceful solution, the revenue is not to be collected; if the recapture of Fort Moultrie would tend to a peaceful solution, he stands pledged to recapture it; if the re-capture would tend to violence and war, he is pledged not to recapture it; if the enforcement of the laws in the seceding States would tend to facilitate a peaceful solution, he is pledged to their enforcement; if the omission to enforce those laws would best facilitate peace, he is pledged to omit to enforce them; if maintaining possession of Fort Sumter would facilitate peace, he stands pledged to retain its possession; if, on the contrary, the abandonment of Fort Sumter and the withdrawal of the troops would facilitate a peaceful solution, he is pledged to abandon the fort and withdraw the troops.

"Sir, this is the only construction that I can put upon this clause. If this be not the true interpretation, for what purpose was it inserted? The line of policy that he had indicated was stated vaguely; but there is not a pledge to use coercion; there is not a pledge to retain a fort; there is not a pledge to recapture an arsenal; there is not a pledge to collect revenue; there is not a pledge to enforce the laws unless there is attached to each the condition; and the condition is, that he will do it only when that course tends to a peaceful solution of the national troubles, and that he will not do it in any case where it does not tend to a peaceful solution.

"I submit, then, to the Senator whether the friends of peace have not much to rejoice at in the inaugural address of the President. It is a much more conservative document than I had anticipated. It is a much more pacific and conciliatory paper than I had expected. I would not venture the expression of an opinion upon it on hearing it delivered, until I had carefully examined and analyzed it. After examination, I am clearly of the opinion that the Administration stands pledged by the inaugural to a peaceful solution of all our difficulties, to do no act that leads to war, and to change its policy just so often and whenever a change is necessary to preserve the peace.

"So much, sir for the policy of the Administration. Now a few words upon the President's views of the causes of the present difficulties and the remedies for those difficulties. In a manner peculiar to himself and to his usual course of argument, he proceeds to show, first, what did not produce the trouble. Let us see what did not do it:

"All profess to be content in the Union, if all constitutional rights can be maintained. Is it true, then, that any right, plainly written in the Constitution, has been denied? I think not. Happily the human mind is so constituted that no party can reach to the audacity of doing this. Think, if you can, of a single instance in which a plainly-written provision of the Constitution has ever been denied. If, by the mere force of numbers, a majority should deprive a minority of any clearly-written constitutional right, it might, in a moral point of view, justify revolution; certainly would if such right were a vital one. But such is not our case."

"Here we are told that these difficulties have not grown out of the violation of any express provision of the Constitution; they have not arisen from the denial of any right guaranteed by an express provision. He then

proceeds to show that is the cause of the trouble. Here it is:

"But no organic law can ever be framed with a provision specifically applicable to every question which may occur in practical administration. No foresight can anticipate, nor any document of reasonable length contain express provisions for all possible questions. Shall fugitives from labor be surrendered by national or by State authority? The Constitution does not expressly say. May Congress prohibit slavery in the Territories? The Constitution does not expressly say. Must Congress protect slavery in the Territories? The Constitution does not expressly say. From questions of this class spring all our constitutional controversies, and we divide upon them into majorities and minorities."

"From questions of this class spring' all our troubles. What class? The attempt of Congress to exercise power on the slavery question where there is no 'express' provision of the Constitution conferring the power; the attempt on the one side to prohibit slavery, and the attempt on the other side to protect it, where there is no 'express' provision authorizing either—these are the causes of our present troubles, according to the statement of the President. The causes are to be traced to the absence of any constitutional provision defining the extent of the power of Congress over this subject. If the President has stated the causes of our difficulties fairly and truly; if they all arise from the absence of a constitutional provision on the subject of slavery in the Territories, what is the remedy? The remedy must be to adopt an amendment that will make an express constitutional provision on the subject. The absence of such a provision being the cause, the supplying of such a provision must be the remedy. Hence the President has demonstrated with great clearness and force the absolute necessity of such amendments to the Constitution of the United States as will define and settle the question whether or not Congress has the power to prohibit slavery; whether or not it has the power to protect slavery; whether or not it has the power to legislate on the subject at all. He gives us to understand that there will never be peace until that question is settled; it cannot be settled except by amendments to the Constitution; and hence he proceeds to tell us how such amendments can be obtained. He tells us that these amendments to the Constitution may be obtained in either of the modes prescribed in the instrument: the one where Congress takes the initiative, as we did the other day, and submits the proposed amendments to the States; the other is where the States take the initiative, and demand a national convention to amend the Constitution.

"The President says that he prefers a national convention as the most appropriate mode, but he has no insuperable objections to the other mode, and he will not oppose, but gives us to understand he will favor the ratification by the States of the amendment already proposed prohibiting any future amendment whereby Congress may be authorized to interfere with slavery in the States. He assigns for his preference for a national convention a very plausible, in fact a very satisfactory reason. It is that if Congress originated the amendments it might not devise such as the people would like, whereas if you allow the people to take the initiative, they will make such amendments as they want. The President stands pledged by his inaugural 'to allow the people to devise their own amendments to the Constitution and not to interfere with, but rather to favor their adoption, whatever they may be.'

"What is the inference from all this? Inasmuch as all our troubles arise from the attempt on the part of Congress to prohibit slavery without the sanction of an express provision of the Constitution, and the counter attempt on the part of Congress to protect slavery without an express provision of the Constitution authorizing it, therefore such an amendment must be made as will settle the slavery question by an express provision and he will not oppose the amendment. Hence we are authorized to infer that if the people do originate such amendments to the Constitution as will settle the slavery question—even if the settlement be repugnant to the principles of the Republican party, in violation of the Chicago platform, and against the right of Congress to prohibit slavery in the Territories, Mr. Lincoln and his administration will not oppose, but favor it.

"What more can be asked? If the people, when they come to amend the Constitution, shall determine that

Congress shall have no power upon the subject of slavery anywhere, except to surrender fugitive slaves and to prohibit the African slave trade, Mr. Lincoln will not oppose it. If the people shall say that it shall be the duty of Congress to protect slavery everywhere in the Territories, Mr. Lincoln is pledged not to oppose that. If the people shall say in their amendment that Congress shall have the power to prohibit slavery in the Territories, Mr. Lincoln is pledged not to oppose that. If, on the contrary, the people shall say that they are in favor of the Crittenden proposition dividing the territory by a geographical line on the principle of an equitable partition, Mr. Lincoln says he will not oppose that. He is in favor of such amendments as will settle the question forever, by an express provision of the Constitution, and he leaves the people and their representatives to devise what those amendments shall be, and he will accept them cheerfully, and not throw any obstructions in the way of their adoption.

"Taking these two propositions together, I find much cause for hope, for encouragement, in this inaugural. First, his policy will be peaceful and not aggressive; he will do no act that tends to collision, but will modify his course always with the view and the hope of a peaceful solution; and, second, inasmuch as the difficulties arise out of the absence of an express provision on the slavery question, he will favor such measures as will enable the people to settle that question by an express provision in the Constitution.

"Now, sir, far be it from me to intimate that the President, in these recommendations, has not been faithful to the principles of his party, as well as to the honor and safety of his country. Whatever departure from party platforms he has made in these recommendations should be regarded as an evidence of patriotism, and not an act of infidelity. In my opinion, if I have understood the inaugural aright, he has sunk the partisan in the patriot, and he is entitled to the thanks of all conservative men to that extent. I do not wish it to be inferred from anything that I have said or have omitted to say, that I have any political sympathy with his administration, or that I expect that any contingency can happen in which I may be identified with it. I expect to oppose his administration with all my energy on those great principles which have separated parties in former times; but on this one question, that of preserving the Union by a peaceful solution of our present difficulties—that of preventing any future difficulties by such an amendment of the Constitution as will settle the question by an express provision—if I understand his true intent and meaning, I am with him.

"Mr. President, if the result shall prove that, I have put a wrong construction on the inaugural, I shall deplore the consequences which a belligerent and aggressive policy may inflict upon our beloved country, without being responsible in any degree for the disasters and calamities which may follow. I believe I have placed upon it its true interpretation. I know I have put the patriotic construction on it. I believe the action of the President will justify that construction. I will never relinquish that belief and hope until he shall have done such acts as render it impossible to preserve the peace of the country and the unity of the States. Sir, this Union cannot be preserved by war. It cannot be cemented by blood. It can only be preserved by peaceful means. And when our present troubles shall have been settled, future difficulties can only be prevented by constitutional amendments which will put an end to all controversy by express provision. These remedies and preventatives have been clearly marked out by the President in his inaugural. All I ask is that his Administration shall adhere to them and carry them out in good faith. Let this be done, and all who join in the good work will deserve and they will receive the applause and approbation of a grateful country. No partisan advantage can be taken, no political capital should be made, out of a generous act of noble patriotism. While I expect to oppose the Administration upon all the political issues of the day, I trust I shall never hesitate to do justice to those who, by their devotion to the Constitution and the Union, show that they love their country more than their party."

### Stephen A. Douglas Publications

A survey of our collateral material reveals that the Foundation has forty-two printed publications of Senator Stephen A. Douglas' addresses, speeches, remarks and letters. This check list does not contain the publications issued in 1858 and 1860 relative to the Lincoln-Douglas debates. Another file, not included in this compilation, might be labeled "Publications About Douglas."

A catalogue of the Foundation's collection follows:

Speech/of/Hon. Stephen A. Douglass, of Illinois,/on/The Annexation of Texas:/Delivered/In The House of Representatives, January 6, 1845 (Caption Title).  
Pamphlet, 5 3/4 x 8 3/4, 7 pp.

Speech/of/Hon. S. A. Douglas, of Illinois/on/The War With Mexico,/and/The Boundary of The Rio Grande./Delivered/In The Senate Of The United States, Tuesday, February 1, 1848/Washington:/Printed At The Congressional Globe Office/1848 (Cover Title).  
Pamphlet, 5 3/4 x 9, 15 pp.

Speech/of/Mr. Douglas, of Illinois,/On The/Territorial Question./Delivered In Senate Of The United States, March 13 and 14, 1850/Washington: Printed By John T. Towers./1850. (Cover Title).  
Pamphlet, 5 3/4 x 9, 31 pp.

Speech/of/Hon. Stephen A. Douglas,/On The/"Measures of Adjustment,"/Delivered In The City Hall, October 23, 1850. (Caption Title).  
Pamphlet 5 1/2 x 8 3/4, 16 pp., Gideon & Co., printers.

Address/Of The/Hon. Stephen A. Douglas,/At The/Annual Fair/Of The/New York State Agricultural Society,/Held At Rochester, September, 1851./Albany: C. Van Benthuyzen, printer, 407 Broadway./1851 (Title Page).  
Pamphlet, 5 3/4 x 9 1/8, 41 pp.

Welcome To Kossuth./Remarks/Of/Hon. Stephen A. Douglas,/On The/Joint Resolution Welcoming Governor Kossuth./Delivered/In The Senate Of The United States, December 11, 1851./Washington: Printed At The Congressional Globe Office./1851 (Cover Page).  
Pamphlet, 5 3/4 x 9, 7 pp.

Remarks/Of/Mr. Douglas, of Illinois,/Upon/The Resolution Declaring The Compromise/Measures To Be A Definitive Adjust-/ment Of All Questions Grow-/ing Out Of Domestic/Slavery/Delivered In The Senate Of The United States, December 23, 1851/Washington:/Printed By Jno. T. Towers/1851 (Cover Title).  
Pamphlet, 5 1/2 x 8 1/2, 15 pp.

Speeches/of/Mr. Douglas, of Illinois,/At The/Democratic Festival, At Jackson Hall,/January 8, 1852./And At/The Congressional Banquet To Kossuth, January 7, 1852/(Caption Title).  
Pamphlet, 5 3/4 x 9, 8 pp.

Speech/of/Hon. Stephen A. Douglas,/of Illinois,/Delivered in Richmond, Virginia, July 9, 1852. (Caption Title).  
Pamphlet, 5 5/8 x 8 1/2, 8 pp.

In a speech before the Springfield Scott Club Lincoln replied to Douglas' Richmond Speech. August 14, 26, 1852.

Oration/Of The/Hon. Stephen A. Douglas,/On The/Inauguration Of The Jackson Statue,/At The/City of Washington,/January 8, 1853/Washington:/Printed by Lemuel Towers./1853 (Cover Title).  
Pamphlet, 5 1/4 x 8 1/4, 16 pp.

(Sp)eech/of/Mr. Douglas, of Illinois,/on/The Monroe Doctrine./Delivered In The Senate Of The United States, February 14, 1853 (Caption Title).  
Pamphlet, 5 3/4 x 9, 8 pp.

River And Harbor Improvements./Letter/of/Senator Douglas/To/Governor Matteson, of Illinois (Caption Title).  
Pamphlet, 5 7/8 x 9, 8 pp.

January 2, 1854.

The/Nebraska/Question/Comprising/Speeches In The United States Senate/By/Mr. Douglas (And Seven Others)/Together With/The History Of The Missouri Compromise/Daniel Webster's Memorial In Regard to

it — History of/The Annexation of Texas — The Organization of/Oregon Territory — And The Compromises of 1850/Redfield/110 and 112 Nassau Street, New York/1854 (Cover Title).

Book, 6 1/4 x 9 3/4, 119 pp.

Pages 35 to 36 contain Mr. Douglas' Report In The United States Senate, January 4, 1854. Pages 37 to 47 contain Douglas' Senate speech of January 30, 1854.

Speech/of/Hon. S. A. Douglas, of Illinois,/In The Senate, January 30, 1854./On The/Nebraska Territory./Washington: Printed At The Sentinel Office./1854 (Cover Title).

Pamphlet, 5 1/2 x 8 1/2, 14 pp.

Letter/of/Senator Douglas,/In Reply/To The Editor/Of The/State Capitol Reporter,/Concord, N. H./ Washington:/Printed At The Sentinel Office:/1854 (Cover Title).

Pamphlet, 6 x 9 1/2, 7 pp.  
February 16, 1854.

Speech/of/Hon. S. A. Douglas, of Illinois,/In The United States Senate/March 3, 1854/on/Nebraska and Kansas/Washington: Printed At The Sentinel Office/1854/(Cover Title).

Pamphlet, 6 x 9 1/2, 30 pp.

Letter/of/Senator Douglas,/Vindicating/His Character And His Position On The Nebraska/Bill Against The Assualts Contained In/The Proceedings of/A Public Meeting/Composed of/Twenty-five Clergymen of Chicago./Washington: Printed At The Sentinel Office/1854 (Cover Title).

Pamphlet, 5 7/8 x 8 3/4, 14 pp.  
Letter of Douglas is dated April 6, 1854.

Nebraska And Kansas/Speech/of/Senator Douglas,/In The Senate, May 8, 1854/in vindication of his character and of his position on the Nebraska-Kansas bill. (Caption Title).

Pamphlet, 5 1/2 x 8 1/2, 8 pp.

Speech/of/Senator Douglas,/At the Democratic Celebration of the Anniversary of/American Freedom, in Independence Square, Philadelphia, July 4, 1854 (Caption Title).

Pamphlet, 5 1/2 x 8 1/2, 7 pp.

Speech/of/Senator Douglas,/at/a Public Dinner/given him/by his personal and political friends, at Chicago,/November 9, 1854./Washington:/Printed at the Congressional Globe Office./1855. (Cover Title).

Pamphlet, 5 1/2 x 7 5/8, 15 pp.

Execution of United States Laws/Speeches/of/Hon. S. A. Douglas, of Illinois,/Delivered/In The Senate Of The United States, February 23, 1855/on/The Bill reported from the Committee of the Judiciary to protect Officers and Other Persons Acting Under the Authority of the United States (Caption Title).

Pamphlet, 5 1/2 x 8 1/2, 8 pp.

34th Congress/1st Session/Senate/Rep. Com./No. 34/In The Senate Of The United States/( . . . )/Mr. Douglas Made the following/Report./The Committee on Territories . . . (Caption Title).

Pamphlet, 5 1/2 x 8 3/4, 61 pp.  
March 12, 1856.

Speech/of/Hon. S. A. Douglas, of Illinois,/on Kansas Territorial Affairs./Delivered In The Senate Of The United States, March 20, 1856/Washington:/Printed At The Union Office./1856 (Cover Title).

Pamphlet, 6 x 8 3/4, 29 pp.

34 Congress/1st Session/Senate/Rep. Com./No. 198/In The Senate Of The United States./June 30, 1856 . . . /Mr. Douglas made the following/Report./To accompany Bill S. 356/The Committee on Territories . . . (Caption Title).

Pamphlet, 5 7/8 x 9, 10 pp.

(To Be Continued In February Issue)

HISTORY'S SCRAPBOOK

Macomb, March 26—In the historical scrapbook on the editorial page, THE TRIBUNE goes back into the files 100 years for items. Well, The Fulton Democrat in Lewistown is one up on you. I have just read in a March issue of that newspaper what the editor said 105 years ago about the inaugural address of Abraham Lincoln in March 1861:

"Mr. Lincoln was duly inaugurated President of the United States on Monday last, and we give the particulars of the inauguration to the exclusion of other matter in this issue. God knows there is nothing in the address to deserve the praise of any honest man.

"It is a reproach to the Republic, a disgrace to the American people. It gives evidence that its author possesses neither statesmanship, candor, decision, or independence."

The 1861 editor went on to mention trials of Lewistown horse thieves and the school in which he had been a scholar 20 years before. The school had an enormous fireplace, seats made of slabs, and "lessons were impressed upon our memory thru the suasion of the ferule and hickory."

Times have changed notions about Abe and notions about schools. Abe's courthouse in Springfield is being moved. Galesburg's "underground railway station" used during the Civil war by slaves seeking freedom is about to go.

I hope THE TRIBUNE continues to print its historical scrapbook. These reprints give us roots and insights into the past that no historian can communicate with his rehashes and his re-writes. It is good to have newspapers like THE TRIBUNE and the Lewistown weekly which have roots sunk deep into Illinois and American history. Somehow the printed current news seems to have more depth when you can turn to a page in the paper and look back 100 or 105 years ago.

None of us want to be prisoners of the past—nor do we want to lose it.

REEF WALDRUP  
Western Illinois University



Lincoln





# Lincoln Lore

Bulletin of The Lincoln National Life Foundation . . . Dr. R. Gerald McMurtry, Editor  
Published each month by The Lincoln National Life Insurance Company, Fort Wayne, Indiana

Number 1571

FORT WAYNE, INDIANA

January, 1969

## March 4, 1861 (A Newly Discovered Lincoln Letter)

**Editor's Note:** In order to feature an unpublished letter (Lincoln to Buchanan, March 4, 1861) the editor has incorporated some of the information under "March 4, 1861" in *Lincoln Day By Day — A Chronology* volume 3, pages 24 and 25, as proper background material for an important day in Lincoln's life.

**Weather:** Morning cloudy and raw. **Attendance:** 30,000 gathered to hear inaugural address. **Law & Order:** No disturbances occurred during day. **Cabinet:** Lincoln asked Seward to remain in his Cabinet. **Press:** Henry Watter- son, newspaper representative at Willard's, was personally conducted by Lamon to Lincoln. **Interviews:** President-elect received Judge Davis, Edward Bates, Gideon Welles, and others. **Address Revisions:** Gave final touches to Inaugural Address. **Transportation:** Shortly after 12 M. President Buchanan and Lincoln emerged from 14th Street door of (Willard's) hotel and joined Sens. James A. Pearce (Md.) and Edward D. Baker (Oreg.) of Arrangements Committee in an open carriage to ride in the procession to Capitol. **Security:** Files of soldiers lined streets; riflemen on rooftops watched windows; artillery was posted near Capitol, which Lincoln entered through boarded tunnel. **Vice President's Oath of Office:** Senate is called to order, and oath of office administered to Hannibal Hamlin by Vice President Breckinridge. **Inauguration of President:** On portico of Capitol about 1 P.M. Baker introduced Lincoln. **Weather:** Bright and clear. **Hat:** On rising to deliver Inaugural Address Lincoln "could hardly find room for his hat, and Senator Douglas reached forward, took it with a smile and held it during the delivery of the Address." (See article "He Did Hold Lincoln's Hat" by Allan Nevins in *American Heritage*, February 1959, pages 98 and 99). **Address:** The half-hour address ended with the statement: ". . . In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war . . . We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching (sic) from every battlefield, and patriot grave, to every living heart and hearthstone, all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature." **Oath of Office:** Chief Justice Roger B. Taney administered oath of office. **Music:** Marine band played "God Save Our President."

**Parade:** Procession to White House began. **Incoming and Outgoing Presidents:** Lincoln and Buchanan exchanged farewells at Executive Mansion. Buchanan is reported to have said to Lincoln: "If you are as happy, my dear sir, on entering this house as I am in leaving it and returning home, you are the happiest man in this country." *American Heritage*, August 1960, page 106. **First Official Act:** John G. Nicolay appointed as private secretary. **Dinner:** About 17 persons sat down with President to first White House dinner. **Dinner Interrupted:** Lincoln

spoke to delegation of nearly 1000 New Yorkers.

**Reception:** Presidential Party arrived at Inaugural Ball at 11 P.M. **Attendants:** Sen. Henry B. Anthony (R. I.) and Vice President Hamlin attended the President, who led Grand March arm in arm with Mayor Berret (Washington). **President's Wife:** Douglas escorted Mrs. Lincoln and danced quadrille with her. **After the ball was over:** President returned to White House at 1 A.M. Mrs. Lincoln remained at ball. **First Problem:** "The first thing that was handed to me after I entered the room, when I came from the inauguration was the letter from Maj. Anderson saying that their provisions would be exhausted before an expedition could be sent to their relief."

The *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, volume IV, edited by Basler, Pratt and Dunlap, Rutgers University Press, 1953, reveals that Abraham Lincoln did not go on record to any

great extent (with the exception of his great First Inaugural Address) with pen and ink on March 4, 1861. The entries for March 4, 1861 follow:

First Inaugural Address (2 versions)

Appointment of John C. Nicolay as private secretary

Reply to a New York delegation (2 versions)

Letter to William H. Seward concerning Cabinet

appointment

A newly discovered letter bearing the first inaugural date follows:

Executive Mansion

March 4, 1861

My dear Sir:

Will you not join us in attending the Inauguration Ball this evening? If you will, we will call for you at the proper time.

Your Obt. Servant  
A. Lincoln

Executive Mansion

March 4, 1861

My dear Sir:

Will you not join us  
in attending the inauguration  
Ball this evening? If you  
will, we will call for you  
at the proper time.

Your Obt. Servant  
A. Lincoln

Executive Mansion

President Buchanan.

The original letter now on display in the Lincoln Library-museum of the Foundation came in a frame bearing an interesting history of the document:

"President Buchanan gave this note to the father of Mr. Adam B. Magraw of \_\_\_\_\_ County, Maryland. He gave it to Cornelia Day McLanahan who married F. Kingsbury Curtis."

F. Kingsbury Curtis was the grandfather of Dr. F. K. Curtis of Bainbridge Island, Washington, from whom the Director of the Foundation secured the original letter.

This personal note has a particular significance, in that it was written by an incoming President of the United States to an outgoing President, on a very important day in our nation's history. Then, too, the letter contains another intangible element—a proper courtesy from one gentleman to another.

### Did "Coughdrop Joe" Ratto Hold Booth's Horse?

Did "Coughdrop Joe" Ratto hold John Wilkes Booth's horse that fateful night of President Lincoln's assassination? Perhaps he believed he did, because the more he thought about it the better he could remember the incident. Historians, however, know the horse holder was one "Peanuts" John Burroughs. This established historical fact, ironically enough, has no bearing on the Ratto case.

The rumor connecting "Coughdrop Joe" with Booth was the bane of his existence. Joe was mentally low grade and spoke English with great difficulty. He received his nickname during his youth when he peddled Lewis' Famous Coughdrops in the downtown saloon district of Washington, D. C. Born in Genoa, Italy, Joe came to this country in a sailing vessel before the Civil War. His given name was Guiseppe. During a part of his boyhood he lived in Philadelphia but is said to have come to Washington in 1861. He grew up in the neighborhood of 10th and E Streets.

Ratto was very short, not over five feet in stature. Perhaps his ambling gait could be attributed to an injury he received while working as a building laborer on the reconstruction of the old Willard Hotel. He wore a mustache of the handlebar variety, black and drooping. His shapeless black derby hat, pulled down over his ears, was never changed—it was timeless. His "ultra-fashionable" trousers fell in folds about his shuffling shoes. (Joe was said to have been the man who introduced Oxford bags to Washington some three-quarters of a century ago.)

Joe always looked exactly the same as he shambled along in an overcoat which hung almost to his shoe tops. He never bathed, and if he ever had a haircut he gave it to himself. With shoulders hunched and head lowered, preoccupied and oblivious to the squealing brakes and squawking horns of outraged motorists, Joe ambled across Washington streets serenely unconscious of the fact that he took his life in his hands each time he stepped in front of moving traffic. Often he could be seen late at night wending his lonely way along F Street, between 9th and 14th. "Coughdrop Joe" was Washington's oddest character.

Old Joe was an isolationist. He never made any friends, nor was he ever cordial to anyone he chanced to encounter. The fact that he lived many years near the Ford Theatre lent credence to the reports associating him with Booth. Even up to the date of Joe's death on Monday, August 12, 1946, at the age of 92, he was in constant fear of being accused of complicity in Booth's plans. Frequently, instead of denying the accusation outright, he would blurt, "They can't prove it!"

Ratto was constantly taunted by street characters, loafers, newsboys and kids who would yell at him, "Didya hold Booth's horse?" Joe would fly into a rage; he would scream, wave his arms, spit, jump up and down, and finally chase his tormentors for blocks. Often, he carried a pool cue which he would throw like a javelin at the boys as he pursued them. The rumor connecting him with Booth originated, it is said, from a jest by a policeman with a fondness for twitting the picturesque old Italian. The joke was next taken up by the newsboys who unceasingly poked fun at him. The rumor grew and spread



Photograph by courtesy of Don Bloch

Photograph (circa 1935-36) of Giuseppe "Coughdrop Joe" Ratto. The young man holding back the crowd for the photographer was a copy-boy in the Washington Star newsroom.

until nearly everybody in Washington came to refer to Old Joe as "the man who held Booth's horse."

Then, too, there was a lot of mystery about how shuffling Joe made his living. Of course, it was evident that he made the rounds of the downtown trash cans, boxes and gutters. But what exactly was his means of livelihood? Did he have funds supplied by those enemies of the government who had wished to see Abraham Lincoln removed from the Presidency? A reporter from the Washington Sunday Star solved the mystery. Joe sold old newspapers to produce and fish dealers. Sometimes he would make forty to fifty cents a day. If he could collect one hundred pounds of paper, he could earn a dollar. He once saved \$300, which he lost in the famous Waggaman realty crash around the turn of the century.

Before Joe took up the paper business he was a tin foil collector; but when the cigarette and chewing gum manufacturers started using the cheaper paper substitutes, he was out of business. Joe had to adjust to the times. He had to give up selling coughdrops in the downtown saloon district with the advent of prohibition which put an end to free lunches and Lewis' coughdrops. The coughdrops were of far greater value socially than medically. In 1926 Joe gave considerable thought to going into the fruit business selling apples, oranges, bananas and grapes; however, this ambition he was never to realize.

People of Washington who came to recognize Joe when seen on his nocturnal jaunts, wondered where and how he lived. He had a small room in the rear of an upper floor of the building at 416 Tenth Street. His room was over a second-hand furniture store. Ratto would never allow anyone to visit that room. Behind a closed door he folded his papers and sorted out his other "finds" including partially smoked cigars and cigarettes. Apparently Joe liked his work in the city's trash cans as there was always the possibility of being rewarded with the unexpected—as well as a cut finger on a broken beer bottle, or a skirmish with a foraging rat. Joe was a late

# Food Notes | Florence Fabricant

## ■ An inauguration feast from six score and eight years ago ■

### **Lincoln's Inaugural Feast**

The menu for Abraham Lincoln's inaugural luncheon in 1861 consisted of mock turtle soup, corned beef and cabbage, parsley potatoes, blackberry pie and coffee. It was held at the Willard Hotel across from the White House.

This year, that decidedly dour menu, which Lincoln himself was said to have planned, will be served through Friday in honor of George Bush's inauguration, as part of the menu in the Willard Room restaurant of the hotel. Cost of the entire lunch, for which reservations are required, is \$29.

In 1861, the inauguration was held in March. One wonders where the blackberries for the pie were obtained, since they were not in season and canning was not widespread. (Perhaps the baker used jam.)

When asked about getting blackberries in the dead of winter this time around, Ann McCracken, a spokeswoman for the hotel, said, "That's our chef's problem, but I bet it's easier now than it was then."

The Willard Inter-Continental Hotel is at 1401 Pennsylvania Avenue NW, Washington, D.C. 20004; 202-628-9100.

THE FIRST INAUGURAL.

The facts related by Mr. Herndon with regard to Lincoln's nomination and election are only such as are familiar to the country. Concerning the inaugural address, he says that late in January Lincoln locked himself up in a dingy back room over a store and there prepared the memorable document, having as works of reference only the Constitution, Clay's great speech of 1850, Webster's reply to Hayne, and Jackson's proclamation against nullification. He had no assistance in the task, and asked for no advice. It had never been his habit to seek help of that sort. He often asked as to the use of a word or the turn of a sentence, Mr. Herndon says, but that was all. He had no library aside from his law books, and he rarely read even the latter. "I may truthfully say," the author testifies, "that I never knew him to read through a law book of any kind. Practically, he knew nothing of the rules of evidence, pleading, or practice, as laid down in the text-books, and seemed to care nothing about them." Beyond a limited acquaintance with Shakespeare, Byron and Burns, he had no knowledge of literature, comparatively speaking. And yet he was a master of style, a model of literary force and precision. "The truth is," says Mr. Herndon, "he read less and thought more than any other man in his sphere."

# Lincoln Inaugurated and Civil War Opens in 1861

By Ray Coffman

**A**FTER Abraham Lincoln became president, the Civil War, the most deadly war in the history of the United States broke out. Like any other war, it might have been prevented if people had made better use of reason and good will. The chief cause of the Civil War was the Negro slavery question.

In the states south of the Ohio, Negroes were an important part of the common life. They planted cotton, rice and other crops for their white masters. They brought in these crops, and picked seeds from cotton balls with the help of the cotton gin.

Negroes were no longer brought to the United States from Africa. That trade had been stopped long before, but there was a slave trade inside the country.

Negroes were shipped from state to state. They were brought and sold in certain cities, often at auction. In return for their labor, they were given food, clothes and shelter. They did not live very well, but at least they knew that they would not starve.

Some years before the outbreak of the Civil War a book called "Uncle Tom's Cabin" was published. It was written by Harriet Beecher Stowe, whose ideas came mainly from stories she had heard about masters being cruel to slaves.

Half a million copies of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" were sold, and peo-

ple in the North gained the idea that most slaves were suffering. The fact appears to be that most southern masters were fairly kind to their slaves. Some were cruel, indeed, but it seems that the majority did not treat the black folk harshly.

Lincoln did not want to force the South to free its Negro slaves. He wanted to keep slavery from spreading to new states, but he did not hope to stop the system all at once. Back in his mind was the thought that southern masters might be paid to let their slaves go free. This, he believed, would take many years.

Lincoln, however, was known as a man who was against slavery. When he was elected president the people of the South were filled with alarm. They thought that he might try to bring freedom for the slaves by force.

There was another cause for alarm, the fear that high tariff laws might be made. Cotton was the great thing which southerners had to sell. Much of it they shipped to England where it was woven into cloth. They wanted to buy goods at low prices, and were against a high tariff.

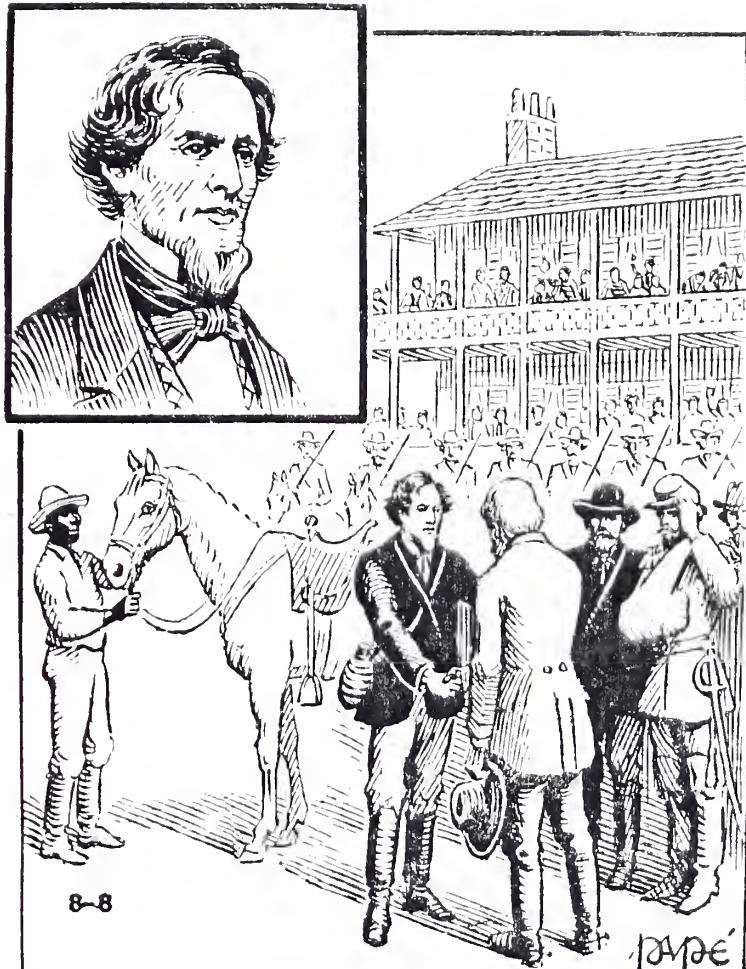
The fear of slave freedom and of a high tariff led southern states to try to withdraw from the Union. The first state to act was South Carolina.

"We are out of the Union now," said the lawmakers of that state on Dec. 20, 1860. Several other southern states soon declared the same thing.

Did a state have the right to leave the Union? That was the question which people in the North asked each other. Horace Greeley, editor of "The New York Tribune," said that any state had a right to leave. Lincoln did not agree with Greeley. He declared that the Union must be kept as it was.

The states which left the Union started a republic of their own, and chose Jefferson Davis as president.

In the new "republic" were a number of forts which contained United States soldiers. Chief of these was Fort Sumter. Its guns



Scene in a Georgia city visited by President Jefferson Davis (inset) of the Southern Confederacy shortly after the Civil War broke out

pointed out over the harbor of Charleston, the largest city in South Carolina.

Jefferson Davis asked President Lincoln to take the Union soldiers away from that fort, but the request was refused. Southern soldiers were then sent to surround the fort, which was commanded by Maj. Anderson. The first plan was to starve the men in the fort until it was surrendered.

Lincoln ordered warships to go to Fort Sumter with food. When Davis learned of this, he sent Gen. Beauregard to demand surrender at once. The demand was made on April 1, 1861.

Maj. Anderson would not give up the fort, but said that he might be starved out before long. The southern leaders would not wait; they feared that the warships were about to arrive with food for the soldiers in the fort, and an order was given to open fire.

In the hands of the southerners were Fort Johnson and Fort Moultrie. They were rather small but their guns could be trained on Fort Sumter. Cannon were also placed on certain islands in the harbor to drive away the "Yankees," as the northern troops were called.

Just before dawn on April 12 a cannon ball, fired from Fort Johnson, burst over Fort Sumter. Other cannon were soon firing in the same direction. People in Charleston climbed on rooftops and swarmed down to the piers to see what was going on.

For three hours, Maj. Anderson did not let his men fire in reply. Then, after a breakfast of pork and half-spoiled rice, the Union soldiers began to work their guns. All through the day, firing was kept up on both sides. At night, there was a lull, but next day the cannon roared in full strength. Hit shot set Fort Sumter on fire in several places, but the blazes were put out.

On April 14 Maj. Anderson surrendered. He marched out of the fort with his soldiers. The southerners shouted in triumph, but they did not know what was ahead of them. Only four Union soldiers had been wounded, and none killed, but the capture of the fort meant the opening of the American Civil War.

Uncle Ray will tell you more details of this War Between the States in next Sunday's issue of the All-Feature Section.

## The Kernel

By Ed Kuekes



Raymond H. Welsh concludes that zoot suits are made for wolves in cheap clothing.

